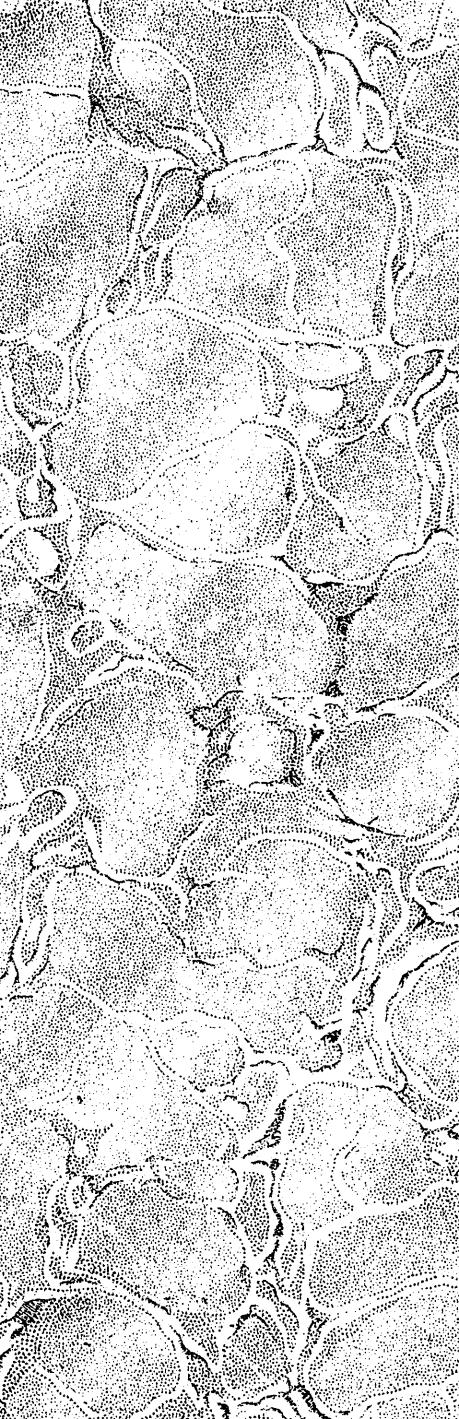


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**THE MISSIONARY  
IN  
CHANGING CHINA**

**BY  
REV. GEO. H. MCNEUR.**



# The Missionary in Changing China

By

Rev. Geo. H. McNEUR



Missionary Lectures, Theological Hall, 1934.

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Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

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**FOREWORD.**

Rev. G. H. McNeur has occupied a unique place in the mind and heart of our Church for so many years that it is needless, not to say presumptuous, for any of us to commend him or his work. But perhaps there is nothing out of place in my expressing my pleasure that the Foreign Missions Committee has decided to publish in book form the admirable series of lectures which Mr McNeur delivered last session to our theological students. These lectures were listened to with rapt attention from start to finish. They told a thrilling story, with an eloquence all the more impressive because it was so natural and unadorned. No one heard them without being inspired with a new enthusiasm for mission work, larger views of Christian history, and a fresh confidence in the power of the gospel. We felt ourselves part of a work that can never end till the kingdoms of this world are won for God and His Christ. We gained a new realisation of the essential unity of the Church of Christ.

I hope for all our sakes that these lectures will find many readers in our Church and beyond it, and that they will be impressed by them, as we were who heard them delivered.

JOHN DICKIE.

St. Clair,

January 2, 1935.

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# THE MISSIONARY IN CHANGING CHINA

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## LECTURE I.

### APPRECIATION OF THE CHINESE MIND.

#### COLOUR-BLINDNESS.

The principle expressed by the Apostle Paul in the words: "I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some," is fundamental in effective missionary work. And while acceptance of the principle is most essential in the messengers sent to live and work among the people of another race, there is nothing more urgently necessary for the future wellbeing of mankind than that Christians everywhere should take the lead in demonstrating the spirit of understanding and unselfish love for all men which is the heart of the gospel. Dan Crawford put it in a very striking way when he entitled his book about work among the Negroes of Central Africa: "Thinking Black." I wonder how many have read that book through. I have met many who have read parts of it, and many more who were intrigued by its title. Did the author, after his many years of lonely service in the jungle villages of the Dark Continent, find it easier to "think black" than to write white? Or is the confessed difficulty of many to appreciate the whole series of his vivid word pictures due to their difficulty of thinking anything else than white?

I am not going to borrow Dan Crawford's title, substituting "yellow" for "black." To Western minds that would suggest a jaundiced approach which would be far from just to the people we are attempting to study. But it remains true that any man or woman—whether merchant, diplo-

mat, or missionary—who wishes to succeed in his calling among the Chinese must learn to appreciate the characteristic “colour” of the Chinese mind. General Gordon, who so brilliantly evidenced the possibilities of such a sympathetic understanding in his own personality and service when he led the “ever-victorious” Chinese army against the Taeping rebels, said: “No one can understand the Chinese until he gets inside of his skin.” By which remark he warned against a superficial judgment of the people and emphasised the importance of sharing their point of view.

Some will argue that for the European this is impossible.

For East is East and West is West,  
And never the twain shall meet.

And Bret Harte’s lines are often quoted:—

For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain  
The heathen Chinese is peculiar.

For many folk that witty lie sums up all they care to know about Chinese psychology. It would be easy to fill a library with the papers, magazines, and books recounting the misunderstandings and resultant tragedies which might have been avoided if the Occident had been more careful to appreciate the Oriental viewpoint. True, the misunderstanding has not been all on one side. European contempt for the Chinese was returned, with interest added, by the Chinese. But we who claimed to represent a Christian civilisation ought to have known better. Western writers who perpetrate such vague and obnoxious generalisations as “The Chinaman and the mosquito are the two mysteries of creation” leave one puzzled by the still deeper mystery of their own mentality. Perhaps no country in the world has suffered more at the hands of superficial observers than China. Fortunately some transient visitors to her shores have had the sense to defer judgment. Among these was Mr George Wingrove

Cook, correspondent of the London Times during Britain's second war with China in 1857-58. He wrote in the preface of his book on China: "I have in these letters introduced no elaborate essay upon Chinese character. It is a great omission. No theme could be more tempting; no subject could afford wider scope for ingenious hypothesis, profound generalisation, and triumphant dogmatism. Every small critic will probably utterly despise me for not having made something out of such opportunities. The truth is that I have written several very fine characters for the Chinese race, but having the misfortune to have the people under my eye at the same time as my essay, they were always saying something or doing something which rubbed so rudely against my hypothesis that in the interests of truth I burnt several successive letters." Many later writers about China have not shared Mr Cook's conscience.

#### "OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB."

Missionaries to China have always felt it an important part of their task to interpret the Chinese people to those in other lands who were not only ignorant of them, but prejudiced against them. Dr S. Wells Williams, one of the earliest missionaries of the American Board in China, published in 1847 the first edition of a geographical and historical description of China and the Chinese under the title, "The Middle Kingdom." Until the revolution in 1911 the later edition was still considered a standard work. He states in his preface that one of his objects in writing is to divest the Chinese people and civilisation of that peculiar and almost indefinable impression of ridicule which is so generally given them, as if they were the apes of Europeans, and their social state, arts, and government the burlesques of the same things in Christendom. He says: "It may be excusable for the Chinese to have erroneous and contemptuous notions concern-

ing lands and people of whom they have had little desire and less opportunity to learn what they really are, but such ideas entertained concerning them by those who have made greater attainments in morality, arts, and learning greatly enfeeble the desire, and tends to excuse the duty to impart these blessings to them. The names she has given her towns, the physiognomy God has marked upon the features of her people, the dress and fashions those people have chosen to adopt, their mechanical utensils, their religious festivals, their social usages, in short, almost every lineament of China and her inhabitants has been the object of a laugh or the subject of a pun."

Although written nearly ninety years ago, that criticism still applies to far too many people. There are good reasons why it is not now quite so applicable to Dr Wells Williams's own country. For the past thirty years very large numbers of Chinese students have been flocking to colleges in the United States for higher education. They have been encouraged so to do by the action of the American Government in restoring the Boxer indemnity to China for that specific purpose. The presence of a large student body in the college life of that country, along with the high standard of intellectual equipment these students have brought to their task, has caused a salutary change of attitude towards the Chinese. Then, too, the geographical proximity of America, with splendid ocean liners providing weekly sailings to and fro, introduces a constant stream of prominent citizens of both republics to the people of the other. At Canton we meet at least nine outstanding representatives of the United States for every one that comes from Britain. And the proportion of educated visitors that go from China to America rather than to Britain is probably much larger than that. With the more cordial relations now existing between our nation and China there is likely to be an increase

in the number of students visiting Britain. American colleges have, however, other advantages, such as working scholarships and possible employment during vacations, that are a great attraction to poorer students. Only the sons and daughters of well-off families could afford the expense of British institutions.

While the Chinese is no longer merely a "joke" to educated people in other lands, the movies, by making him the "villain" of the play, threaten an even more serious libel on his character.

### SAMPLES AND SENTIMENT.

New Zealand has been unfortunate in the type of Chinese immigrant whose coming has moulded her earliest conception of China and its people. During the second half of last century, specially during the 'sixties and 'seventies, crowds of Chinese entered our country in search of gold. Most of them were illiterate farmers from a very conservative group of villages lying to the north of Canton. Their fear and dislike of foreigners was not to be wondered at. For a long period Canton had been the one place where China came in close contact with other nations. The Cantonese knew of the occupation of the Philippine Islands by Spain. The Portuguese had settled amongst them at Macao. The Dutch were taking possession of the East Indies, where there were many Cantonese immigrants. The British had not only taken India, but were coming nearer at Malacca and Singapore in the Malay Straits. Then came the wars between Britain and China, and the occupation of Hong-kong in the mouth of the Canton River. The Cantonese gathered from the surrounding villages in a futile attempt to protect their city from the foreign invaders. For some years Canton was in the hands of a British and French garrison. All these happenings combined to make the proud and independent Cantonese suspect and hate the

foreigner. Of course, those who came to our colony in the early days had no knowledge of the English language, and living in communities of their own nationals in or near gold-mining centres they had little opportunity or disposition to learn it. Those congregating in cities for purposes of business were forced to pick up enough to make themselves understood within the narrow limits of their necessities. Attired often in cast-off European clothing much too big for their slighter proportions, living in tumble-down hovels, walking in Indian file along our broad streets and roads, talking in their strange jargon or in some stranger attempt at English, it is small wonder that the average New Zealander of fifty years ago had crude ideas of the Chinese race. I recall distinctly the mixed feelings of fear and amusement with which we received them as children.

That generation of gold-mining Chinese has almost disappeared from our shores. But it is another thing to get rid of that first impression their presence made on the same generation of New Zealand youth. True, these strange and transient visitors have made another kind of impression on those who came in closest contact with them. I have been both surprised and gratified to find how high an estimate such folk have formed of their characters. I noticed that a gentleman in Auckland had recently left £500 to endow free beds in the Auckland Hospital to be available specially for Chinese patients. The reason given was that this man had such grateful recollections of Chinese tenants on his property in Canterbury. I have heard similar testimonies from one end of New Zealand to the other. In a talk with the Hon. W. Downie Stewart during my last furlough, he remarked: "It is not because of his vices that the Chinese is objected to in New Zealand. It is because of his virtues."

The visit of a college Soccer team from China some years ago, and the more recent appearance in

our cities of Mr T. Z. Koo, with his mastery of English, his melodious bamboo flute, his winning smile, and charming personality, have given many New Zealanders a new conception of the Chinese. We get rather a shock after meeting a gentleman like Mr Koo to hear that ten years ago he was refused entrance to one of the principal foreign-owned hotels in Shanghai because of his nationality. About the same time another Chinese of equal culture, accompanied by his wife, both of them American citizens by birth, were ordered to vacate one of the public seats on the British concession at Canton. Parsees and Japanese were allowed to sit on these seats, but not Chinese. We do not wonder that the humbling restrictions imposed by these international settlements in China, with their constant reminder of European superiority, became increasingly irritating to sensitive Chinese with their fast-developing nationalism. Fortunately for the peace of the East these points of irritation have been greatly reduced since the anti-foreign outbreaks some years back. On the concession at Canton they have been reduced by removing the park seats altogether!

That the same kind of racial pride persists in New Zealand is evident to any observant person, and may be illustrated by two incidents. Some years ago a Chinese couple formed the habit of attending a Presbyterian Church in a North Island town. They were warmly welcomed by minister and office-bearers. One evening as they were leaving the church they overheard a white woman member of the congregation say to another: "Why do these Chows come to our church?" That was the last time the Chinese couple went to church. A Chinese student was taking certain courses at one of our New Zealand colleges. He was in the company of a lady student outside the college entrance one evening when a member of a passing group of students said, in a voice audible to all around: "I



don't like these dagoes coming around here." These are no doubt extreme instances, but they indicate a not uncommon and extremely dangerous type of mentality. The Chinese at present in the Dominion are for the most part younger men with some knowledge of English and a fair standard of education, and are possessed of business qualifications which win for them the respect of the people who have dealings with them. But even they have to suffer patiently a great many insults and slights from white neighbours who are their inferiors in manners at any rate.

Part of a missionary's duty is to correct such unchristian sentiment in his own land by his letters from the field and by interviews, conversation, and addresses while on furlough. He is sometimes tempted to pander to the Athenian propensities of folk at home to hear some new thing, sensational, of course, and in his talks to so emphasise the grotesque and unusual in his sphere of work that he, unwittingly perhaps, misrepresents the people in the land of his adoption. I know of one missionary from China (not belonging to our Church) who got into serious trouble with the Government authorities here during the war by some things he said in a lecture about China. But the missionary's contacts during furlough are casual and transitory. The education of our youth in Christian neighbourliness with other nationals, specially those sharing with us the shores of the Pacific, is one of the primary tasks of parents and teachers in these critical days. It is for this reason that a study of work in our mission fields has an important function in the preparation of the future leaders of our Church. By neglecting such an issue and by the maintenance of a laissez faire attitude to this fundamental problem of international relationships, you will throw your influence on the side of those forces which make for continued misunderstanding and inevitably lead to racial strife.

LANGUAGE—A FENCE OR A GATE. 2

Paul said: "Unless your tongue utters language that is readily understood, how can people make out what you say? You will be pouring words into the empty air. There are ever so many kinds of language in the world, every one of them meaning something. Well, unless I understand the meaning of what is said to me I shall appear to the speaker to be talking gibberish, and to my mind he will be talking gibberish himself." Thus does this cosmopolitan ambassador for Christ indicate the importance of the missionary understanding the language of the people to whom he is sent. Although he used freely the *lingua franca* of his day—Greek—he was quite aware of its limitations and the inevitable consequence of these limitations.

Two Englishmen were travelling by rail in North China. One of them alighted at a station and accosted a Chinese gentleman on the platform in English, asking him some questions regarding the place. The Chinese explained in his own polite language and way that he was sorry he could not understand. The Englishman rejoined his companion on the train with the remark: "The fool does not know English!" You would be surprised to know how common that unreasoning prejudice against those who do not speak English is among British folk. I suppose it is encouraged by the fact that most educated people in India and South Africa do speak English, and that its use is so remarkably universal. Some years ago a visitor from New Zealand was being placed on a small boat to cross the river at Canton. She looked round the family of the boatman and said: "Do you mean to tell me that none of these boat people understand English? Dear me, how helpless they must feel!" That naive remark was most revealing. The Chinese have the same idea about ourselves, and when they meet someone unable to understand them they say: "He does not understand human language!"

It seems rather an anomaly that the University of New Zealand does not recognise Chinese as a modern language, although it is used by one-fifth of the human race. American Universities accept a cultured Chinese or Japanese undergraduate as having attained proficiency in one modern language. Such students would probably have a much better practical knowledge of their own language and literature than students taking French or German are likely to attain in New Zealand. In the older universities of Europe Chinese language and literature has its own chair.

The insular pride of the average British person has prevented his taking the trouble to learn Chinese even when spending many years in China. He has been content to carry on his contacts with the people through bi-lingual Chinese go-betweens. When such persons pose as authorities in matters Chinese, they are apt to prove "blind leaders of the blind" however long they may have resided in the East. Books and magazine and newspaper articles from their pens may be very readable, but are often unreliable. This criticism applies mainly to business people and journalists. The representatives of German trade who have crowded into China since the war are in marked contrast. They can only keep their jobs by being able to make first-hand contacts with their Chinese customers. If you would like to find some enlightening illustrations of the importance of a rich colloquial vocabulary to the foreign business agent read the recent novel, "Oil for the Lamps of China," by Mrs Alice Hobart. The review in the British Weekly spoke of it as "a subtle study in interracial contacts." The oil concerns probably do more than any other trading institutions in encouraging their employees to learn Chinese. In fact, promotion depends on language ability and an understanding knowledge of the people. Years ago I was asked to help the British Chamber of Commerce at Canton in organising a Language School. The

British Consul-general, Sir J. W. Jamieson, opened the school with an appreciative address. Illustrating the advantages of knowing Chinese, he said that on a voyage to Canada his Cantonese cabin steward was delighted to find the Consul could speak his language. They had frequent chats, and the boy was more than faithful in attending to his comfort. When the steamer reached Vancouver the Consul proffered the customary tip. The steward refused it most insistently, saying that he took tips from ordinary passengers, but not from his personal friends! The Language School quickly dwindled away, until it was composed entirely of men from one of the big oil firms.

It is a salutary provision that missionaries and British consular officials are not allowed to carry responsibility in China until they have some knowledge of the spoken language. They are thus prevented from making many costly mistakes. While acquiring the language they have time and opportunity for studying the people themselves. Without an acquaintance with China's ancient and modern history and literature, her social and religious customs, her arts and industries, and the daily life of the people in town and country, it is impossible to secure the background requisite for a right appreciation of Chinese psychology. The value of recent books dealing with Chinese life written by Lady Hosie, Pearl Buck, and Nora Waln lies in the fact that they are written by authors who have an intimate knowledge of Chinese family life, and are fluent speakers of the language. I share with many Chinese the feeling that some of Pearl Buck's writings deal too much with the sordid side of life, and are hardly just. Lady Hosie's, on the other hand, are delightfully sympathetic. It needs to be remembered that where the writer is describing conditions in one part of China the reader must avoid the mistake of generalizing in regard to the whole country. Customs vary widely

in different provinces and even in different districts. There can be no questioning the necessity of knowing the language if you would really know the people. How far would we get in English-speaking countries if we were limited to the knowledge of French?

## THE REIGN OF THE DETHRONED CONFUCIUS.

As an aid to understanding the Chinese mind the missionary is naturally interested in China's classical literature. In new China the classical system is suffering the ignominy of a dethroned monarchy. Professor William Hung, of Yenching University, Peiping, in the book, "As It Looks to Young China," has a chapter entitled "Setting Confucius Aside." He closes that chapter with the words: "The historic culture centring upon Confucianism is disrupted. There are still some Chinese who can hear Confucius weeping in the grave. But few of them will attempt, like Tseng Kuo Fan, to set him back into the central place he once occupied in Chinese thought." Tseng Kuo Fan was one of the nation's leaders in opposing the Taeping rebels, because they dared not only to challenge the Manchu dynasty and idolatry, but also Confucianism, and his declaration of war referred to Confucius and Mencius as weeping in their graves because none were found able to successfully resist the rebel attack. I wonder how far Professor Hung is right in the statement that Confucius has lost his central place. The teaching of the classics inevitably expressed itself in the thought forms of the times in which Confucius and Mencius and their disciples lived—about 500 B.C. In their ethical, social, and political implications the classics were the fruitage of centuries of civilisation prior to that date. It is little wonder that forms of expression should become obsolete after the lapse of three thousand years. But we need to distinguish between form and reality, and the marvellous thing is the persistence,

nature, and extent of Confucian influence on present-day China. I can almost hear Confucius laughing in his grave at such statements by Hung and other young Chinese scholars. The ancient sages had, by their absorption in what was best of their inherited culture, become typical Chinese, and their self-expression through their teachings made the thought moulds for subsequent generations of their race. True, such slavish copying of the type limited initiative and discouraged invention, so that the whole system tended to become frozen and fossilised. But the revolution has not destroyed the moulds. It would be a huge mistake to consider China's classical literature a spent force. It was not a supremely difficult thing for the Manchu Government in 1905 to abolish the ancient system of examinations in the classics as the one door to official position and to introduce a more modern substitute. Neither was it difficult to overthrow the effete Manchu dynasty in 1911 by the promise of a Government based upon the will of the Chinese race. Such changes could be justified by classical tradition, and thus did not spell the doom of that tradition, but witnessed to its abiding value. The average Chinese has never been greatly interested in the method of government prevailing in his country, but he has been more than interested in the principles of life embodied in classical literature. He may not be able to read a word of it, but it has had a part in creating the world in which he lives and moves and has his being. Such a psychical inheritance cannot be eliminated by a change of Government or by a change in the system of education. In a paper written a few years ago by Dr D. W. Lyon, the senior secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in China, and born in a Presbyterian missionary home at Hangchow seventy years back, we read: "Confucianism is the key with which to unlock the main door which shuts the Westerner out from an understanding of

the Chinese mind." This experienced student of Chinese culture and character is not misled by popular slogans. True, it is increasingly difficult to interest impatient Chinese youth in their ancient literature. Its monarchical and feudal setting, the conservatism of its ideals, and its scant knowledge of science have combined to make it unpopular in revolutionary China. But it does not require much prophetic vision to expect that developing nationalism, with its emphasis on the indigenous, will restore the study of the classics to the educational curriculum. The editing and analysis will be done by Chinese scholars who, while lovers of the ancients, have the added advantage of a modern scientific training. Their textbooks will be written in the simple vernacular, and not in the abstruse classical style. Thus their work will simplify and vivify the task of the missionary and others wishing to approach the study of the Chinese mind by this main door.

The fear of the more conservative element in China's academic circles regarding the iconoclastic attitude of her younger scholars is well expressed by Dr Lim Boon Keng, for many years president of the Amoy University. He wrote: "Mandarin Confucianism is dead. It deserves nothing better than to die. But alas, the age-old theism of the classics, with all the ethics of social life and international goodwill, is also being neglected. The literati of the younger generation are abandoning the true gems of the classics because, forsooth, religion is only a superstition! Disorder, desolation, and red ruin are parading through the land, despoiling temples, breaking up schools, disillusioning the chastest women of mankind, and driving the most industrious people on earth to the verge of despair. We have looked around and have failed to see how salvation is forthcoming except through a restatement of the old Confucianism, minus the official cere-

monialism and dogmas." The late Dr Sun in his "Three Principles of the People" took much the same position as President Lim, urging the preservation of the old clan system and local organisations for the securing of a united nationalism, and pleading for the revival of such old racial characteristics as loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faith, righteousness, and harmony inculcated in classical literature.

You will notice the elements in Dr Sun's classification which he traces to Confucianism. They read almost like a group of Christian virtues. Other Chinese characteristics, such as conservatism, attention to ceremony and etiquette, respect for learning and experience, reasonableness, docility, and a generally high ethical standard are all traceable to the same source. With the exception of the ancient Hebrews the leaders of thought of no people have so insistently interpreted life and history in terms of ethics as have the sages of the Chinese race. Moral considerations strongly colour the Chinese outlook on life and still constitute the main standard of valuation, at least theoretically, for culture and progress. The worship of Confucius has gone, the forms and language in which the sages expressed their teaching are no longer acceptable, but the influence of their lives and message still abides in the character of the Chinese people.

As if to bring irrefutable evidence for this argument, while this lecture was being written, references began to appear in the press calling attention to a new movement launched by the leaders of the Nationalist Government in China during the opening months of 1934. An English journalist rather ridiculed the movement as a trifling over small matters, while China was perhaps facing the most serious crisis of her long history. But that is a matter of opinion. In South China the movement is championed by the Governor of Kwang-



tung, and has as its slogan, "Back to the Classics." In Central China it is called "The New Life Movement," and the campaign is led by President Chiang Kai-shek himself. It has arisen from a revival of China's own ethical consciousness. While the country is engulfed in a maelstrom of untested and conflicting ideas, bankrupt of the needed moral and economic leadership, and helpless in front of foreign aggression, her statesmen feel that appeal must be made to what is deepest, most abiding, and most sacred in the universal Chinese mind. At such a moment they have agreed on a restatement of the virtues enshrined in classical literature. Along with these they are combining the modern emphasis on hygiene, orderliness, personal and social purity, simplicity of living, and thrift. This is a movement in which the Church can wholeheartedly co-operate.

### RELIGION AND THE MAKING OF THE CHINESE SOUL.

Although we are dealing in another lecture with China's religious heritage, we cannot ignore this subject in a study of the Chinese mind. Such moral sanctions as were recognised have in the past been based on the Confucian ethic and the Buddhist and Taoist religions. Beliefs regarding the future life with its rewards and punishments, the spiritual interpretation of physical phenomena, the dependence of mortals on the gods and their spirit ministers are ranked as superstitions by educated young China. But they are still much more potent than a superficial observer might think and many Chinese care to acknowledge. The facts that most of the temple and monastery property has been confiscated by the Government in a progressive city like Canton, and that necromancers, geomancers, and fortune tellers in some such centres are being registered with a view to final prohibition become widely known through the press, and from such happenings in some

cities it is concluded that those changes are nationwide. For example, a press cable from Shanghai, dated May 16, 1934, reported that the Nanking Government had decided that all forms of superstition and the practice of occult arts would be vigorously suppressed. The Government can issue its mandates, and the strident cries of loud-voiced reformers in the port cities will broadcast them. But away back in the countless villages and market towns of the interior, where the real China lives, these age-old beliefs and practices will not quickly lose their ancient power.

The animistic inheritance which has perhaps left the deepest impression on the Chinese soul, and which until recent years was practically universal, was the fear of malignant spirits. This animistic superstition of their primeval ancestry has been only strengthened by the influence of the Buddhist and Taoist religions, specially the latter, and in its connection with the worship of the dead has sought to claim the sanction of Confucianism. Always and everywhere men, women, and children have been considered subject to attack by these unseen spiritual enemies. All sorts of methods are resorted to in order to deceive or placate them or ward off their assaults. A superstition of that order is bound to have a lasting effect on character. Some years ago I read an old book on China entitled "The Cross and the Dragon," published in 1854. The author discusses the many religious persecutions which have taken place in China, dealing specially with the sufferings of the early Roman Catholic missionaries and their converts. He says: "The real grounds of the various persecutions will be found in the excessive timidity of the Chinese national character. This timidity built their great wall and formed that political cordon which has kept them an isolated people for centuries." What is the reason for this racial timidity? Is it not

possible that the whole nation should be suffering from a fear complex inherited from and transmitted through generation after generation under the influence of this universal dread of evil spirits? This excessive timidity explains the ease with which most Chinese can be terrorised. We had ample evidence of it during the anti-foreign outbreak of 1925 and 1926, when all servants were scared out of the employ of their foreign masters. Again and again a small band of pirates, perhaps ten or so, have overpowered steamers with passengers and crews numbering hundreds. The power wielded by the warlords and their underlings, and even ordinary soldiers, is better understood when we remember this Chinese characteristic. The use of terroristic methods nearly always proves effective. The only exceptions on a wide scale have been in the case of members of the Christian Church under persecution, and more recently leaders of the Communist movement. One of the most remarkable tributes to the power of the Christian faith in China has always been the fact that converts lose their dread of demons. And the clearest proof of the hold Communism has on educated Chinese youth is found in the fearlessness with which numbers of college students risk their lives and face the firing squad for their ideals.

While the Chinese are a timid race, they are not troubled with the sensitive nerves of Western folk. This is one of the seeming contradictions in their make-up which puzzle the outsider. Although nothing could induce them to live in a house reputed to be haunted, the operating theatre and the dentist's chair do not seem to have the same terrors for them. They can exist and even thrive under conditions of hardship, noise, and overcrowding which would drive the Westerner to the mental hospital or the cemetery.

It is a mistake to think the Chinese are unemotional. They have learned to control their feelings, and their impassive faces are apt to create a wrong impression. Trained in a hard school, they become accustomed to disease, poverty, suffering, cruelty, and death. But they are tenderly fond of their children, and there is real attachment between members of the same family and between friends. The effectiveness of slogans and picture posters, emotional appeals by public speakers, and other propaganda devices has shown how susceptible they are to mass suggestion.

### OTHER MOULDING FACTORS.

Who can tell how much the mental processes of this interesting people have been influenced by their stories, dramas, poetry, and proverbs? Any old resident of China knows how universal the storyteller and the play actor are. The Chinese are born actors. In a New Zealand school you will find a few pupils who have talent in this direction. In China you will be quite safe in assuming that every pupil can play a part. I once saw a class of boys in a country chapel—most of them from non-Christian homes—stage Paul's conversion, under the direction of a Chinese teacher. The equipment was of the crudest sort. They stoned Stephen with paper pellets, used a borrowed bicycle lamp for the light from heaven, and had a colporteur arrested for trying to sell gospels to Saul and his soldiers at so many cash! But it was so realistic and impressive that I am sure the crowd of village folk present had a better idea of that incident than if they had heard a preacher describe it scores of times. Having this dramatic instinct, they themselves are profoundly moved by skilful acting. How their old historic and moral plays must have entered into the warp and woof of the Chinese mind!

Listen to a Chinese patent medicine vendor at work and you are at the feet of a master in crowd psychology. How quickly he gains attention. How artfully he introduces the subject of his wares. How skilfully he tells his stories. How cleverly he elaborates the ills his cure-all can heal, so that his net will enclose all manner of birds. How adroitly he plays on the desire of his hearers to get something for nothing. His skill is surely worthy of a better cause. He knows, too, the value of a practical demonstration, and his free samples, bag of poisonous snakes, and iron bars with which he belabours his limbs have each and all their known psychological worth. A little manipulation before beginning can usually ensure a few customers (or accomplices) ready to break the ice at the critical moment. Every sale is announced in stentorian tones with appreciative remarks so that interest may be maintained.

Chinese are very fond of stories. One day last year I passed a crowd of men and boys surrounding a professional storyteller. I returned nearly three hours later and the same crowd was still there. A neighbouring resident told me the same thing was going on at that spot practically every day. All the daily papers supply their column of original stories. Their joke factory must be kept busier than the one in Aberdeen. The nature of the Chinese language, with many words of similar sound but different meaning, lends itself to an endless play on words, and the pun is considered by no means the lowest form of wit.

Their proverbs provide little peep-holes into the life of the people. They are legion, and many are familiar to and constantly used by even the illiterate. From my own collection let me offer a sample or two. "When the snake enters the hollow bamboo its nature is still crooked." This is used of an evil-minded person restrained from wrongdoing by his

temporary environment. "In ordinary times not even lighting an incense stick, but in trouble embracing the feet of Buddha." The person who is only religious when in serious difficulty can be readily recognised in the picture. "Over the long road you get to know the strength of your horse, and through long acquaintance you know another's heart." A beautiful and oft-quoted proverb is: "The falling leaves gather round the tree's roots; in drinking water think of the spring." It is used as a reminder of the gratitude owing to those who have gone before and have made us what we are. "In the fishless pond crabs are considered big" is a take-off of those who are somebody just because there is nobody around. "Local ginger lacks pungency" is the Chinese version of: "The prophet is not without honour save in his own country." The common speech of the people is full of such pithy epigrammatic sayings. Their number, wisdom, and universality witness to the high standard of China's culture. This tabloid system of concentrated wit is no overnight product.

### PHENOMENAL MEMORIES.

No one can have much to do with the Chinese without noticing their marvellous power of memory. It approaches the uncanny, and you begin to wonder if they ever forget anything. Longer experience teaches that there are some things they remember and other things they forget. Over thirty years ago when visiting Chinese in New Zealand before going to China, I was struck with their ability to remember the cost of things purchased years before. Constant contact with them ever since has familiarised me with this feature of their life. It is not necessary for the ordinary Chinese shopkeeper to have prices marked on his goods. In fact, that would rob him of the most exciting part of his occupation—the bargaining with customers. He

knows what he paid for his goods and what he expects to get for them. This ability argues more than mere memory. It predicates a preliminary attention to detail which fixes an impression indelibly on the mind. The average Chinese mind is a much more accurate recorder of such impressions than that of the Westerner. But there are some things the Chinese is slow to remember as any missionary knows through patience-testing experience.

As in home and business and social life they remember all past family events, commercial transactions, and social functions, so in their education the Chinese have the advantage of being able to learn by rote with comparatively little effort. I remember listening to a boy repeating the Shorter Catechism—both questions and answers—from beginning to end. Even under the new system of education you still hear schools of Chinese children reading from different parts of the same book at the top of their voices while preparing to “back the book” before the teacher and recite pages of what they have learned. Could European children learn or European teachers teach amid such a hubbub? I have met many scholars who could repeat whole books from their classics and commentaries. The power of concentration and attention involved in such a feat would be considered almost miraculous here. In China it is so universal that nothing is thought of it. To use a photographic illustration, their minds seem to record in detail almost instantaneously what is not possible to those of other races even with a long-time exposure. Where have the Chinese got their remarkable memories?

Two British professors in Hongkong University have said interesting things about the Chinese mind. One said he had noticed in microscopic work with Chinese students that their minds caught a more detailed impression of the object studied than did his own. He would fix a slide in the microscope for

a student and ask him to report what he saw. The student would indicate some feature the teacher did not know to be there. Somewhat doubtful, he would put his own eye to the lens, and sure enough there would be the additional feature reported. Although the professor had used the slide repeatedly, and thought he knew all that was on it, he discovered new things when he looked through the eyes of his Chinese pupils. The other professor said he had found the section of the brain controlling the faculty of attention to detail abnormally developed in the Chinese.

I suppose there are good reasons for this highly developed faculty if we could only locate them. In a primitive state all races depend more upon immediate sense impressions and on their memories. Exercise strengthens every faculty, while disuse ends in atrophy. When family and clan history and all acquired knowledge were transmitted by oral tradition the memory had to do work which first the art of writing and later the invention of printing has long ago made unnecessary. The argument from a written language and the use of the press seems on the surface to apply less to China than to any other land, because they were used there from such an early date. But in China scholarship has hitherto been confined to the very few, and for these the study of the involved Chinese characters, with very slight differences in structure between symbols for widely differing ideas, was itself an extremely stimulating exercise of memory. No man could have any pretence to scholarship who did not know between five and ten thousand of these intricate characters at sight. Not only must he be able to recognise them instantly, with a knowledge of the right pronunciation and tone, but he must also be able to write them—a far more difficult feat—and use them in composition. It is not strange that mental gymnastics of that strenuous nature



should result in a tenacious memory and a mastery of detail. Then the Chinese scholar of former days had the added discipline of using a classical language in reading and writing which was quite distinct from that of ordinary speech.

While the advantages of scholarship have been confined to the few, there is a school in which all have been pupils. I have referred to this in speaking of the storyteller and the play actor. You will constantly hear unlettered coolies, farmers, and herd boys singing, in a high falsetto, from their historical plays by the hour. Here eyes and ears and voice combine in creating a lasting impression on the mind. Superadded to the mechanics of the mental process there is the strong subtle sentimental interest in the human forces that have shaped their national history. The clan system, with its involved relationships and ancestral worship, with its attention to the details of family history and genealogical records, provide further training for everybody.

Another almost universal factor in the evolution of the Chinese brain is the intensive system of cultivation which has been prevalent for so many centuries. This has naturally a much wider application than the argument from book learning. Three-fourths of the people are engaged in tilling the soil, and the majority of those now following industrial and business pursuits have had a farming ancestry. The struggle for existence is constant and absorbing. The task of winning an adequate living from the soil is full of difficulties. The population is most dense in the rich-soiled areas related to the great river systems. Danger from flood and drought is always haunting the husbandman. Every foot of ground and quart of water is sometimes a matter of interest. Each individual tree and plant and fruit needs careful tending so that the ravages of many pests may be avoided. Nothing must be wasted. Thus attention to detail is imperative, and finds abundant exercise.

Again the introduction of labour-saving machinery is a matter of yesterday in Chinese industry. From time immemorial they have been skilled workers with their hands. Look at their beautiful pottery, their exquisite embroidery, their delicately carved ivory. Notice the evenness of the product, the exactness in detail, the faithfulness to type. Here, too, doubtless we are in touch with both cause and effect in the moulding of the Chinese mind.

Some years ago I heard a Professor Sz-to Wai give a lecture on Chinese art. His remarks had special reference to drawing and painting. He said in Western art the whole picture expressed one central idea. It might be somewhat complex, but it must of necessity be a unity. The various parts were of value, as they combined in the whole to interpret the idea in the artist's mind. In Chinese art it was otherwise. Attention was focussed, not on the general impression, but on the completeness and faithfulness of each several part. The parts were sometimes out of perspective with one another, but they still gave unqualified satisfaction both to the artist and his Chinese patrons. The excellence of the work was judged by its attention to the minutest detail.

### CREATIVE THINKING.

That last paragraph leads us to ask whether their phenomenal powers of memory and attention to detail have been in any way a handicap to the Chinese. The human mind does not seem capable of super-development all round. Some authorities have thought the Chinese were paying for their wonderful memories and capacity for detail by a lack in their power of constructive reasoning. If necessity is the mother of invention, the constructive imagination is its father. The story of the Chinese tailor who was given an old coat as a pattern and made

the new garment exactly like it—patches and all—is true to life in differing degrees of very many people. Imitation is much more strongly developed than invention. Of course, this is apt to be true of a people whose golden age has been in the far past. Thus teachers find their students get on famously so long as tests are limited to the exact verbal ground covered in lectures and textbooks. When an examiner insists on their applying knowledge already imparted for the solution of a new problem they find it a severe mental strain, and the results are often disappointing. They experience difficulty in searching out the more essential but less obtrusive implication in an argument. When they grasp important issues it is too often in isolation, and they miss the advantages to ordered thought which come through being able to build the details into a correlated system. A clever essayist has called this the “abacus” type of mind, and has wondered whether the use of the abacus by the Chinese in all mathematical calculations for so many centuries was partly responsible. He referred, of course, to the fact that where the abacus is used there is no permanent record of the process by which the conclusion is reached. Whatever the reason it is true that, while the Chinese students are gifted with great patience, and marked by plodding perseverance in investigation, they lack somewhat in constructive ability. That may help to explain why the country is taking so long to attain unity and efficiency in its government.

I must hasten to add that the number of Chinese students who can and do systematise their thinking is rapidly increasing under the stimulus of new pedagogical methods, the study of modern science, and the acceptance of higher moral ideals. Now, as in the past, there are Chinese who are contributing to the world's store of original thought. Everything indicates a very rapid increase in their number.

China's isolation has hindered her progress. No individual personality can truly become himself in isolation. For development the stimulus of contact with others is required. The same is true of races. Who can say how much the people of Europe and America owe to mental cross-fertilisation. We must remember how long China has shut herself off from the thought currents of the outside world. We are only beginning to see the real Chinese mind as China takes her place in international society. And what we see makes us exceedingly curious regarding the future. It will be interesting to notice whether, as the capacity for original research and constructive thinking develops, and when inventive genius is again awakened through international exchange of thought, the Chinese faculty of memory will gradually lose its present abnormal features.

### THE PERIL OF IGNORANCE.

I heard a British Consul-general say to an assemblage of Europeans and Americans: "Any man who thinks himself racially superior to the Chinese is a fool!" I believe he was right. But it doesn't do much good to call people fools. Most of us are foolish because of ignorance. That, of course, does not lessen the danger attached to our folly. And in these days of enlightenment and opportunity it does not take away our culpability. The missionary in China will make little headway unless he appreciates the Chinese mind. And his work in China will not count greatly for the establishing of peace on earth and goodwill amongst men unless the rank and file of the Church which sends him forth shares, to a much larger extent than at present, that appreciation.

Lord Haldane, speaking of Anglo-Indian understanding, said: "Want of knowledge has brought in its train want of sympathy. Without such sympathy we may well continue to succeed in 'policing'

India, but it is difficult for us to gain the confidence of the Indian people. The finest level of the Indian mind is not really difficult to understand. . . . It is the soul of the people that is the key to their outlook. The preliminary study that is desirable for the would-be reformers is neglected excepting for a very few, and is neglected mainly because of the difference in spirit between the East and the West." I don't think the "difference in spirit" is as wide between the Anglo-Saxon and the Chinese as it is between the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian. But in neither case will a sympathetic understanding come without effort. In spite of the national tie which binds us with India it may well be that politically and commercially as well as geographically the future of New Zealand will be rather linked up with China. At any rate we have our particular responsibility to both these great countries, which together form the home of almost half of the world for the salvation of which Christ died. In answer to Rudyard Kipling's statement regarding the everlasting barrier between East and West quoted early in this lecture, an Indian missionary has written:—

But Christ is Christ and rest is rest,  
And love true love must greet;  
In East and West hearts crave for rest,  
And so the twain shall meet;  
The East still East, the West still West,  
At Love's nail-pierced feet.

## LECTURE II.

### CHINA'S RELIGIOUS HERITAGE.

"As some of your own poets have said."

No study of the missionary's task can be complete that does not take into account the older religious beliefs which have influenced the minds of the people among whom he labours. He will find much in their present that has its explanation in their past. It is inevitable that in an ancient country like China, where conservatism has been such a universal characteristic, and where such a high type of culture has prevailed, the content of the Christian faith, its expression in Christian worship, and the policy and management of the Church should be affected by the old moulds into which the new life is being poured. The same thing happened in Western Asia, Europe, and North Africa in the early Christian centuries. The Church could not escape modification by its environment. As it spread throughout the Western world, it not only transformed the life of the people, but in its credal statements, its ecclesiastical organisation, its liturgic expression, and its architectural development the Church adapted itself to its particular task by taking into account the conditions it found there. The early Church may not have done this of set purpose, although there is more than a hint of it in Paul's words, "I have made myself the slave of all to win over as many as I could." It may have done it in spite of a desire on the part of many to preserve more of its original Jewish setting and spirit. But such adaptation was inevitable if the Church's mission was to succeed. Christ came to save men from sin and enable mankind to know and do the will of the Heavenly Father, and He had no quarrel with anything that did not hinder that purpose. "He that is not against us is for us." His ambassadors in every age have been the product

of their own time and civilisation, and have brought to the service of their Lord minds and hearts disciplined by other tutors. When a Western Christian is transferred to an Eastern field of service he is bound to carry with him the conceptions of his own traditional civilisation and of the Church in which he has been nurtured and trained. He should be able to distinguish between the essentials and accidentals of his ecclesiastical heritage, and be prepared to give sympathetic consideration when he finds the same Christian faith expressing itself in Eastern forms. To do this the missionary to China must be a patient and interested student of the religious history of the Chinese race.

### MICROSCOPE AND TELESCOPE.

There are two ways of approaching the study of ancient religious beliefs and practices like those of the Chinese. One way leads directly to the fountainhead and examines the religious life in its earliest recorded historical manifestations, and in the light of knowledge thus attained traces the stream of subsequent development. The other way is to make a careful investigation of the present beliefs and customs of the peoples, and thus find guiding principles under the direction of which the student can follow their evolution backwards towards their beginnings. Both methods have had their exponents among students of religion in China. One school has gone right back to historical genesis and has attempted to recover primeval beliefs from the ancient classical literature. Others again have made an exhaustive inquiry into present-day religious life, and by conclusions thus formed have tried to interpret the earlier historical evidence. Each method is subject to the danger of over-emphasis, and even experts sometimes begin with an unscientific bias in a certain direction, and so find what they are looking for. The student who allows his thinking to be monopol-

ised by hypothetical ideas regarding origins is apt to give an idealised presentation of the subject. On the other hand, a treatment which is limited to evidence obtained by examination of present-day beliefs and practices will hardly do justice to ancient idealism. The work of both schools has been of immense value to the missionary.

### CAUTION!

Two considerations should guard the student of Chinese religion against being over-dogmatic in his conclusions. As known to-day, China has many beliefs, rites and customs which are more or less localized. They are found in the north, but not in the south, or vice versa. They may be confined to one province, one district, or even to one village. It is thus almost impossible to carry on first-hand research which will at the same time reach universal conclusions over such a wide field, and there is grave danger of generalizing from insufficient data. To avoid this danger research students in different parts of the country must collaborate by bringing their results to some common clearing-house, where what is universal and permanent may be sorted out from what is only regional or spasmodic. Fortunately, Chinese scientists are becoming interested in such questions. Their opportunities of investigation are naturally much greater than those open to foreign scholars. And the rapid development of higher education will give them representative centres from which to work, and will furnish the apparatus necessary. Such studies run the risk of attracting men who have certain presuppositions to substantiate. Among Chinese intellectuals, as I know them, the tendency will be to discount the supernatural and seek a merely humanistic basis for all their discoveries.

The second consideration which should counsel caution is the tremendous distance in time between



the earliest records of Chinese religion and its present manifestations, along with the absence of any detailed or scientific history of its development. Whether that development be traced downstream from the spring to the ocean or back from the ocean to the source, there must have been modifying factors—perhaps most important—of which nothing is now known. For example, there is the question of how far originally differing religious beliefs have affected each other during subsequent history. It may yet be proved that Buddhism, as known in China and Japan, owes certain of its elements to contact with the Christian religion through Nestorian missionaries.

### RELIGIOUS BEGINNINGS.

China's religions are commonly spoken of as three—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The colloquial expression for a person "at loose ends" is "pu san pu sze," which means "neither three nor four." That phrase indicates one whose beliefs cannot be classified under any of the three religions, nor his occupation included in the four vocations—scholar, farmer, workman, merchant. But this rough-and-ready classification has ignored Moham-medanism, probably because it is still considered by most Chinese as a foreign religion.

Modern students go back beyond these three religions to what they consider is really the primary faith of the Chinese race and the base into which these later religious manifestations have been mixed. It is because of this common primeval base that it has become feasible for the three religions to co-exist in the mind and heart of the same individual. The majority of Chinese are at the same time Confucian-ists, Taoists, and Buddhists. Professor Tiele, one of the earliest European students of Chinese religion, wrote: "The religion of the old Chinese Empire is best described as a purified and organised worship

of spirits, with a predominant fetishist tendency, combined into a system before it was possible for a regular mythology to develop out of it. The sole objects of worship are the spirits, which are divided into heavenly, earthly, and human, and, as a rule, are still closely connected with the objects of Nature." Professor J. J. M. de Groot, a later student, holds that "the primeval form of the religion of the Chinese, and its very core to this day, is Animism. It is based on an implicit belief in the animation of the universe and of every being or thing which exists in it. The oldest and holiest books of the empire teach that the universe consists of two souls called 'Yang' and 'Yin,' the 'Yang' representing light, warmth, productivity, and life, also the heavens, from which all these good things emanate, and the 'Yin' being associated with darkness, cold, death, and the earth. The 'Yang' is subdivided into an indefinite number of good spirits called 'shen,' the 'Yin' into evil spirits called 'kwei.' It is these 'shen' and 'kwei' which animate every being and every thing. It is they also which constitute the soul of man. His 'shen'—immaterial, ethereal, like heaven itself, from which it emanates—constitutes his intellect and the finer and virtuous parts of his character, while his 'kwei' is thought to represent his less refined qualities—his passions and vices—they being borrowed from material earth. Birth consists in an effusion of these souls; death is their departure, when the 'shen' returns to the 'Yang' or heaven and the 'kwei' to the 'Yin' or earth."

Other old scholars, such as Dr J. Legge and Dr J. Ross, did not agree with this opinion about the animistic origin of Chinese religion, considering these beliefs a departure from the earliest faith. Dr John Ross, in his book, "The Original Religions of China," argues from the evidence of the ancient classics for the existence, 4000 years ago, of a slightly modified

monotheism in China which was even then ancient. He claims that later religion, as described by de Groot and others, is the result of a gradual deterioration and a materializing of the ancient form. Legge and Ross found what they considered incontrovertible proof of their argument in the primitive characters or symbols of the written language and in the ancient historical records. Chinese writing is said to have been invented 5000 years ago. During the past 2000 years the written script has not been greatly changed, but in earlier ages it underwent many modifications. Fortunately, examples of the ancient forms have been preserved. In its earliest beginnings writing was pictorial. These elementary pictures have been modified in order to allow of speedier writing, but enough still remains to provide a wealth of information regarding primitive ideas and customs.

### ANCIENT CHINA'S DISCOVERY OF GOD.

The history recorded in classical literature covers a period beginning about 2000 B.C. and coming down to the sixth century B.C.—i.e., the time of Confucius. It abounds in reference to religious beliefs and ceremonies. There is no trace of the cruder forms of idolatry. It depicts a worship of a plurality of inferior deities who are the ministers of God, but always gives the highest place to Shang Ti or heaven.

I find myself in agreement with Professor W. E. Soothill, of Oxford University, when he says: "The religion handed down by Confucius has its roots in a primitive animism. It undoubtedly inculcates the worship of the forces of Nature or perhaps the spirits which govern natural phenomena. These spirits, however, are all subject to a personal Supreme Ruler, Who governs all creation."

The theistic conceptions revealed in their earliest history are astonishingly similar to those of the Old Testament. A Supreme Being is recognised, imper-

sonally denoted by T'ien or heaven and personally by Shang Ti or the Supreme Sovereign. In the invisible world he is aided by a multitude of spirits or divine beings, in the visible world by sages and rulers of whom the chief was always the emperor, who, as vicar of God, had sole right to sacrifice to Him as Shang Ti, though as impersonal T'ien all men approach Him. The word T'ien means "the sky," and we might expect to find that the word for the visible heavens had gradually been widened in content to include the deity, Whose existence beyond the sky would be inferred from the apparent position and movements of the heavenly bodies and by the phenomena of lightning, thunder, wind, and rain. But the primitive character for heaven would indicate that in China this process has been reversed. There has been no attempt to draw a picture of the overarching sky, but such a representation of a human being, with head, body, arms, and legs, as one would expect from the hand of a prehistoric artist.

Professor Soothill suggests the following distinction between the two classical names for God: "It would seem as if Shang Ti was conceived of more as a sovereign ruling the world than in a paternal relationship to humanity. This view finds confirmation in the attitude of the Chinese at the present day, for while men worship, call upon, and cry and weep to heaven, the very sovereignty of Shang Ti has seemed to bar the approach of the common people, leaving that approach to his vicegerent, the ruler on earth." Of course the professor was writing while China was still under a monarchy.

Dr Ross writes of the earliest period covered by reliable Chinese history: "During these twelve centuries the religiosity of the Chinese is most pronounced. They appear to have lived under the increasing consciousness of the presence and interference of an all-ruling Power, and under the protecting care of an intelligent, just, all-knowing, benevolent,

and almighty Providence." Here is a proclamation by an emperor of the sixteenth century before Christ which is typical of the period. It was issued when he had displaced the preceding king, who was an unscrupulous, rapacious, and ferocious ruler: "The Supreme God has given to all men a moral nature, to which the practice of all men should invariably conform. The supreme duty of the sovereign is to enable men to pursue that course of conformity in safety and peace. The late sovereign, by his cruel oppression, drove the people to cry out in protest against their sufferings and appeal for deliverance to the deities of heaven above and the deities of earth beneath. The way of heaven is to bless the good and to punish the wicked. Calamities were showered on the late sovereign to make known to the world the greatness of his wickedness. The will of heaven being thus clearly manifested, it was not for me to dare to forgive the criminal. On the contrary, I made bold to request permission to punish him by offering a black bull as burnt sacrifice, thus making public proclamation to the ruler of the deities of high heaven. Then Supreme Heaven was pleased to reveal His will to protect the people, and the criminal fell. The decree of Heaven makes no mistake. Now the people will again flourish in their millions like the grass of the field and the trees of the forest. The States in which order has been newly re-established must take heed to their conduct and be careful to avoid lawless ways. Every official must observe his duties. Then will the protecting decree of Heaven abide with us. The good in the people I will publicly declare; the evil in myself I shall not dare to hide. In accordance with the mind of God will I examine all, for everything is known in the mind of God." Thus, long before the time of Moses, China was under a ruler who in this remarkable language acknowledged his responsibility to God. But we must remember this high conception was confined to the few. The

common people did not understand such lofty ideas, and found satisfaction in their animistic superstitions.

In the period of the Chau dynasty—between the twelfth and sixth centuries B.C.—there came a gradual decadence in religion and morals. Confucius attempted to reform political ethics, but he was naturally affected by the lower religious ideas of his generation. He was not a religious leader, but a social and political reformer. He was suspicious of everything that seemed to him superstition. His attitude to the doctrine of immortality is stated in the words, “ We do not know life, how can we know [what follows] death? ” He refused to discuss supernatural phenomena or spiritual beings with his followers. While he was agnostic regarding the reality of the unseen world, he encouraged the old sacrificial rites because of their moral and social value in cementing family unity and promoting loyalty to the State. Rites and ceremonies appealed to him as inculcating reverence and obedience, while music expressed in its rhythm and harmony the aesthetic inspiration for order and co-ordination. When asked which was the correct place in house or temple to offer prayer he replied that the sinner against heaven could find no place where his prayers would be heard. In his old age he became sick, and his disciples suggested resort to prayer. He answered that he had been praying for a long time, by which he meant that his life had been equivalent to prayer. A recent Chinese writer sums up the sage's attitude to religion thus: “ Confucius, while personally religious, did not emphasize his religious convictions. He was too intelligent to believe in the popular religion of his day, and the agnosticism thereto which he passed on to his disciples reflects credit on him as a man of penetration who saw the falsity of superstition.” If this opinion be true, it is a pity Confucius was not more positive in what he said regarding the things which he believed.

## RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS IN CONFUCIANISM.

We now come to a question which has been much debated during recent years. "Is Confucianism a religion?" If by Confucianism we mean only the teaching of the sage and his school, then it is a system of ethics and not a religion. But if the term includes the beliefs, rites, and practices in ancient China as recorded and encouraged by the sages, and the system which has developed from these, then it is undoubtedly a religion. Soon after the establishment of the republic the Confucianist Association, which was a very powerful society, started a movement to make Confucianism the State religion. This aroused a nation-wide religious controversy, with militant Confucianists on the one side and all the rest of the religions (including Christianity) on the other, and the attempt failed. Instead religious freedom was incorporated in the nation's new constitution. But defeat was not due to the failure of Confucianism to prove itself a religion. Every walled city in the empire had formerly its temple to Confucius, where, at stated seasons, elaborate ceremonies of worship and sacrifice were offered by officials and scholars to the sage himself. In every school in the land, with the exception of Christian institutions, there was a tablet to the sage before which the pupils worshipped. Such acts of reverence have no attraction for the younger generation of to-day. One of the last acts of the dying Manchu dynasty was to make a bid for popularity by issuing a decree elevating Confucius in the spirit world to be the equal of heaven!

## ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

The chief survival of the old Confucian cult is the worship of ancestors. This practice has existed as far back as Chinese history carries us, and was commended and observed by the sages themselves. It still has a most tenacious grip on the hearts of

the Chinese people. As a writer says: "This sort of family worship has been popular in other countries, but in no part of the world has it gained the importance it has received in Eastern Asia. Every natural feeling serves indeed to strengthen it when once it becomes common. Who so likely to watch over their children, protect from harm and rescue from danger, cure in sickness and preserve in health, prosper in business and succour in poverty as those who had performed these kindly offices when they were alive, and around whom the best affections of the heart are entwined." The indigenous Taoist religion gladly adopted the already ancient practice of ancestral worship, and when Buddhism finally became popular in China one reason for its acceptance was that it did not interfere with this established faith. In fact, both religions found the practice a useful accessory to their own rites. Mohammedanism, too, allowed a large latitude in the veneration of ancestors. The earliest Christian missions—first the Nestorian in the seventh and thirteenth centuries, the Franciscan Order in the thirteenth, and the Jesuits in the sixteenth centuries—were ready to compromise in regard to this custom and consider the worship of the emperor, sages, and ancestors as civil rites. I remember over 30 years ago seeing an ancient inscription in Chinese on a doorway among the ruins of an old Jesuit cathedral in Macao which read, "The veneration of ancestors is not sin." Thus these early Roman missionaries sought to make the door of the church wide enough to attract the Chinese people. Even the early Jewish colony in Central China in course of time adopted ancestral worship and placed the emperor's tablet in their synagogue, and so became assimilated with the Chinese life around them. At the beginning of this century there was nothing left to distinguish them but persons here and there with Jewish features, the ruins of their old synagogue, and some Hebrew manuscripts. Yet they were still



known as "the sect which pulls out the sinew" (see Genesis 32: 32).

### A SUBTLE ENEMY.

Protestant mission effort has found its most serious obstacle in this deep-rooted custom, with which it refused to compromise. I recall a long talk with a Chinese business man who had returned from New Zealand. He and I were warm friends, and could be perfectly frank with one another. He was a frequent visitor at our home in Canton, and I sometimes stayed in his shop at Ko T'ong. When my boat was anchored at that market he would come aboard in the evening and stay for evening worship. On the day of which I write we were having a specially intimate talk. He told me he and many of his more thoughtful friends were convinced of the truth of Christianity. They were ready to accept its ethical standards and forsake idolatry, but they would never destroy the spirit tablets of parents and grandparents in their homes nor face the social ostracism which would follow their forsaking the worship of the ancestral halls.

Dr Wells Williams described this worship as "one of the subtlest forms of idolatry ever established among men, essentially evil with the guise of goodness." It has the appearance of unselfish filial devotion to the memory of the progenitors of family and clan. Great sums of money have been spent in the erection of elaborate temples where the soul tablets are enshrined and worshipped. Even poor families deny themselves the necessities of life in order that incense, candles, and imitation paper money may be offered at the ancestral shrines. But all this seeming self-denial for the sake of the family and clan has usually a selfish motive at heart. The Chinese believe that if these rites were neglected the ghosts of their ancestors would cease to bless and protect them, and would cause calamity, trouble,

sickness, and death in their homes. So this worship is a kind of insurance premium, and the expenditure is often prompted by fear and covetousness.

### ATTENDANT EVILS.

The practices of early marriage and concubinage are by-products of ancestor worship. It is essential that every man should have a son (or, better, sons) to continue the worship of their ancestors. Mencius, the disciple of Confucius, said, "Three things are unfilial, and having no sons is the worst." For many generations Chinese boys and girls have been married in their 'teens. And girls of thirteen or fourteen may be wedded to widowers of twice, three times, or even four or five times their own age. They may find themselves mated to diseased, crippled, or insane husbands. Among the poorer classes a female infant is often adopted into a home with the purpose of making her the wife of one of the boys when the two reach marriageable age. A woman servant in our home had with her a girl whom she was bringing up for her son. The girl became very clever and nice-looking, and proved a good student in the Christian school which she attended. The son was pock-marked, lazy, and wasted his mother's earnings. When the two were fifteen or sixteen years old the mother, during the summer vacation, took advantage of our absence to set them up, without any ceremony, as husband and wife. On our return we found what had happened and insisted on a Christian wedding service, as the parties concerned were church members. The young bride returned to school and the bridegroom enlisted in the army. As she progressed in her studies the idea of living with her worthless husband became increasingly repugnant to her. Finally the American lady in charge of the school gave a large sum of money to the mother to secure the girl's freedom, as she wished to retain her on the staff of the school. With this money a new bride

was secured for the son. Some years later the girl, now a handsome and accomplished Christian woman, was happily married to a college graduate filling an important position in a Christian institution, and is now the mother of a very fine family. The incident illustrates the dangers of this boy and girl arrangement. It quite often ends in tragedy. I recall reading a pathetic letter by an American lady missionary in the country district from which our servant came imploring the Presbytery to notify church members that any adopting girl babies for this purpose would be expelled.

Until recently marriages were always arranged by parents through go-betweens, and it was considered most unfilial for the children to make any objection. Poor little daughters-in-law have often been cruelly treated because they did not give birth to sons. Missionary doctors and nurses could tell many stories of the bitter disappointment following the news that "only a daughter" had been born. "Blind marriages," as they are now called, have many opponents among the younger Chinese. Desertion and divorce and companionate marriages are becoming increasingly common. When all accepted the old custom as a matter of course, it was remarkable how happily most couples lived. But the introduction of Western methods of education for both boys and girls has created an entirely new situation. The revolution is having its effect on the whole structure of social life.

Concubinage finds its chief excuse in the worship of ancestors. If the first wife bears no sons, the husband, provided he has the means, will take a secondary wife. The principal wife may be rebellious, but in most cases she will acquiesce. Indeed, the arrangement may be made at her earnest request. Wealthy husbands may have quite a number of wives. I have been in homes where this was the case. As women become educated, this state of things

will become impossible. The Government is already introducing legislation with a view to making concubinage illegal. This will be a blow to ancestor worship.

I have known a number of cases where Chinese abroad have married white women while their first wives were still living in some Chinese village. Occasionally these white women return to China with their husbands only to find they are considered the servants of their mothers-in-law and their children the property of the first wife. We were able to befriend an English woman whom her husband brought from South Africa. She suffered terribly because she refused to accept the humiliating conditions, and her two boys were stolen from her by the husband's relatives in order that they might be taught to follow Chinese customs. After some years of anxious searching they were recovered. I have seen half-caste children who have been taught in New Zealand public schools and Sunday Schools taken back to China that they might be initiated into idol and ancestral worship and marry Chinese brides or husbands. I have also known Chinese who have married abroad and brought up much-respected families, but who, late in life, have been persuaded by their relatives to return to China and marry a young Chinese girl. At one time I acted as letter writer for such a man, who returned from Australia. He was kept almost as a prisoner in his village so that a son might be born to carry on the ancestral line. Although he was quite elderly, a son was born amid great rejoicing in the clan. But the baby died, and soon after the old man was laid in his ancestral grave.

### EXTRAVAGANT FUNERALS.

Another evil by-product of ancestor worship is the religious significance it gives to the burial of the dead. It is popularly believed that when a man dies his spirit finds three different abodes. One

is with the body in the grave, another in the ancestral tablet, and the third passes into the unseen spirit world. Thus the spirits are periodically worshipped at the graves as well as at the shrines. Large sums of money are spent by wealthy folk in securing a location for the grave which will be acceptable to the spirit, and so bring blessing to the descendants. Low hills in the neighbourhood of great cities like Canton are covered with countless millions of graves. It is only recently that superstition has given way before practical considerations, and these old cemeteries are being converted into building sites. Our home at Paak Hok Tung occupies such a site. Some hundreds of graves were removed from it, the owners being compensated so that they might secure another burial place. Three years ago a Chinese engineer came to see me. He said he was the nearest relative interested in a grave lying within our section which we could not originally buy. He now wanted to sell it, as all its value as a family tomb had been spoiled by our house and trees cutting off the good influences which had focussed on it when it was bought generations ago at a great cost. He seemed to think I should be pitied for my ignorance regarding such occult matters, but bore no grudge against me personally for my unconscious share in taking away the good luck of the family. Railway engineers have repeatedly had to face armed opposition in China when the requirements of a straight line led to the stirring of the ancient graves. Family quarrels and costly litigation frequently follow interference with the surroundings of a tomb. Bitter clan feuds, continued for years and costing many lives, have begun in the same way.

The religious significance of burial also leads to heavy funeral expenses. For a striking example we have only to think of the many hundreds of Chinese who have died while in New Zealand, and

whose bones have had to be returned to China in order that their spirits might find rest in the ancestral cemetery and receive the worship of succeeding generations. Nearly 30 years ago the Chinese in the colony chartered a steamer to take the remains of 600 men who had been buried here back to China. Unfortunately, the ship struck a rock and went down in deep water a day out of Wellington. Among many of the relatives there would be more real grief at that catastrophe than there was when news of death first reached their homes. And New Zealand is only one out of many countries from which the bodies of Chinese immigrants have to be sent back to their native land. Funerals from well-to-do homes must often cost hundreds of pounds, and even among the poor money will be borrowed at a high rate of interest to give the dead fitting burial. The social department of the Nationalist Government has launched a campaign against such extravagant customs, but reform will not come easily.

### THE CHURCH AND VENERATION OF ANCESTORS.

The question is often raised in these days whether the earlier Protestant missionaries were not too intolerant in their attitude to ancestor worship. There are undoubtedly elements in it which are worth conserving. When I went to China first I found the idea prevalent in rural communities that Western races had little respect for parents, kept no trace of their ancestors, and did not care what happened to their dead. I immediately sent to Dunedin for photos taken in one of our cemeteries. Mr Don furnished me with pictures which included the grave of a Chinese and also of a little New Zealand girl. I carried the photos with me, and was rewarded with many exclamations of surprise when I showed the villagers how beautiful the cemeteries were in contrast to their own, and how even a little girl was considered worthy of a monument with an inscription

to her memory. Undoubtedly the iconoclastic attitude of the Church in China towards ancestor worship was responsible for this misunderstanding. I once heard a Japanese bishop of the Episcopal Church tell an assemblage of missionaries and Chinese leaders that in the Church in Japan they had carried over the rites of ancestor worship into Christianity, purifying these rites of superstitious features, and thus making the Christian religion more acceptable to the Japanese. The first generation of Chinese Protestants certainly supported the missionaries in their insistence that converts should forsake ancestor worship. The tendency now is to allow such practices as are considered compatible with the Christian faith. I can remember when mission boarding schools in Canton did not permit their pupils to leave school during the festival of grave-worshipping. Now Easter, which coincides with that period, is utilised by the Christians in attending to their family graves. In the Christian cemeteries large crowds of people gather on the Saturday preceding Easter Sunday to hold public service in memory of those departed. So many old customs, even those once considered most sacred, are changing in these revolutionary days that converts to Christianity are no longer subject to the bitter persecutions formerly meted out to anyone daring to neglect ancestral rites.

### THE WRONG "WAY."

The term "Taoism" is derived from the Chinese word "tao," meaning "way," "principle," or "doctrine." It is the character used in translating the word "logos" in the opening verses of St. John's Gospel. Lao-tsz (lit. "old son"), the founder of Taoism, is so called because a legend says he was carried in the womb eighty years before birth, and had white hair and eyebrows when born. He was fifty-four years of age when Confucius was born. His philosophy is embodied in the Tao Teh

Ching or "Classic of Reason and Virtue." His teaching recommended retirement and contemplation in order to purify the spiritual part of the nature, annihilating the physical passions, and finally returning to the bosom of the Supreme Reason. Confucius records a visit to consult Lao-tsz when the old philosopher upbraided him for his ambition in gathering disciples and seeking political office. The doctrine of the older sage was beyond the comprehension of the younger, who compared it to the soaring of the eagle. The two were perhaps somewhat akin in their fundamental religious beliefs, but one was a mystic and the other a practical man of affairs. Lao-tsz would seem to have had more in common with the Indian schools of religious thought, while Confucius was typically Chinese. Many of the early followers of Lao-tsz spent their years in a vain search for the elixir of life.

Taoism later degenerated into a debasing idol, fairy, and fetish worship, gathering into its system most of the older animistic superstitions. The Confucian limitation of the purest form of worship to the emperor and his ministers and its emphasis on outward ritual rather than inward religion left the door wide open for all kinds of extravagances among the common people. Priests, monks, diviners, magicians, astrologers, fortune-tellers, geomancers, mediums, and many other sorts of religious charlatans proffered their expert help in restraining the demons and enlisting the friendly co-operation of the more kindly spirits. Mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, images, men, women, and children alive or dead, specially departed saints, heroes or villains, had all their present spiritual influences, which were only known to these initiated gentry. Outside a village you will see a great tree with numerous incense sticks at its base or with red paper placards pasted on it stating the adoption of a child that is named thereon by the spirit dwelling in the tree. Stones are often honoured in the same way.



## EVIL SPIRITS.

The fear of demons has been mentioned in the first lecture. These are particularly active at night, and it is only desperation that will drive the ordinary Chinese along a lonely road after dark, specially if it passes a cemetery or some haunted spot. Near our mission cottage on Cheung Chau there is said to have been some tragedy long ago, and our servants in the early days of occupation used to declare that demons were responsible for anything untoward that happened during the night. I once heard some blind fortune-tellers in the country telling each other that they must hurry home, as they were afraid of the dark. I wondered what difference the dark would make to blind men, and then recalled their fear of the evil spirits that begin to prowl around after the sun goes down.

I once had an amusing experience with two chair coolies who were carrying me among the villages. The road was long, and it was getting dark. They stopped at a shop to buy a paper lantern and candle. The people at the shop said, "So late! Are you not afraid of devils?" One of the coolies indicated me with a nod of his head and replied, "The foreign devil will scare away the other devils!" This sally provoked a great laugh at my expense, in which I joined. I have met multitudes of men and women who claim to have seen and heard demons or to have witnessed demonstrations of their activities. I spent one evening not long ago with a group of older Chinese preachers who were reciting the experiences of themselves and their acquaintances with spirits of various kinds. Some are very vicious, while others are quite playful in their pranks. One of the characteristics in the Chinese converts to Christianity that astonishes their fellow-nationals is that they lose their dread of demons and can occupy haunted houses without being tormented. Some years since I visited a friend who had rented a house

at a very low rate because its ghost had a most unsavoury reputation. He found nothing to alarm him, although quite a series of previous tenants had been frightened out of it. I have seen nothing in and around Canton of the kind of demon possession analogous to that mentioned in the Gospels. Insanity is spoken of by the uneducated as demon possession, and it is quite common to hear mothers scolding their children as being bewitched by a devil when they do something foolish or naughty.

Fear of ghosts has not been without some moral value. It enforced a certain respect for human life and ensured charitable treatment of the infirm and aged. It acted as a deterrent to grievous injustice, because, however strong the tyrant, the injured one could always threaten suicide in order that his ghost might take revenge in a way he or she was unable to do while alive. Many a down-trodden slave girl, persecuted daughter-in-law, jealous wife or concubine, and ill-treated servant has found comfort in suicide with this hope. What miserable comfort!

### BOOSTING A GOD.

Idols of all description are among the representatives of Taoist superstition. Some of these are hideous and terrifying, while others are benign and friendly. Many are supposed to be the figures of ancient kings and heroes who have been canonized by subsequent rulers. Their aid is secured by subscriptions of money, by the offering of food, the burning of incense, candles, imitation money and firecrackers, and by the repetition of prayers. One instance of the influence exercised by such idolatry will be sufficient to illustrate the credulity of the people and the character of the priests. At Fati, near Canton, some thirty years ago a small idol temple was erected in a garden. The chief idol was called Wong Taai Seen, and it was claimed that he was a very powerful god who had been forgotten

for many generations. A small group of men formed a company to restore this neglected deity to his rightful place. They hired a number of ex-soldiers and sent them round the countryside to advertise the miraculous powers of Wong Taai Seen. One said he had been cured of rheumatism at the temple after all other idols had failed to bring relief. Another claimed that his old mother had been healed of some deadly sickness. Another's wife, after long disappointment, had given birth to a son after worshipping the idol. A fourth had been given the tip by the god to a lucky gambling venture. And so they went on. Gradually the fame of the long-lost deity spread, until crowds began flocking to Fati. Streets of stalls went up in the neighbourhood, providing refreshments to the pilgrims and selling the varied articles used in idol worship. Opium and gambling saloons were opened. The idol became the centre of a most lucrative business. I remember meeting one of the promoters of the company in the temple grounds. He had given up a position as compradore with a foreign firm in Tientsin for this much easier and more profitable job. He spoke English, and laughed at the gullibility of his countrymen. Before long the worshippers had contributed a huge sum of money for the erection of a new temple, and I watched this massive edifice, with its carved stone pillars and beams and its costly teakwood timbers, rising round the little shrine where the ugly figure of the idol, blackened with smoke, occupied the holy place. The inscribed wooden tablets presented by grateful recipients of his miraculous help formed a fence several chains long on each side of the central avenue.

### CHARMS.

Exorcism of demons is practised by the Taoist priests. They go through all sorts of incantations and hocus-pocus, with much beating of gongs and

firing of crackers. Sometimes the driving out of the devil needs drastic treatment, and sick folk, even little children, are cauterized and otherwise tormented. It is a familiar sight to see a mother passing the garments or bedding of her child through a fire on the street or beating them with a stick while she mumbles incantations to get rid of the offending spirit. Charms are written on paper and placed on the walls inside the house, or outside, on or above the door. They are often worn in the clothing or round the neck, specially by children. The cock, being the bird that signals the passing of the darkness and the heralding of the dawn, is associated with the overcoming of the forces of evil. An earthenware cock is therefore placed on the housetop to keep away demons. Again the flowering peach and plum, which blossom at Chinese New Year, symbolise the overcoming of winter by the returning warmth of spring. For this reason sprigs and branches are found in Chinese homes at this festival season. They have the double advantage of being a beautiful ornament and a talisman against evil.

Every now and again some new place of pilgrimage is found where the gods are specially propitious. For example, in my early years at Canton many tens of thousands used to travel by water to a place near Whampoa where was situated the famous Poh Loh temple. I went there once when itinerating in the neighbourhood, and was particularly interested in the distinctly Indian type of face on some of the images. The pilgrims would all return with red paper cocks, which were hung up in their houses, shops, and boats. Later a holy place to the north called Kam Shaan (Gold Hill) came into favour, and crowds flocked in that direction. More recently a small temple in a village just near our home has somehow claimed attention, and during the few days of the festival each year there is a constant stream of people from the city and all

directions pouring into this new Mecca. The festival is known as the "Shang Ts'oi Wooi" or "Lettuce Association." The lettuce is called the raw or, literally, "living" vegetable, and that must have suggested some occult virtue in this very common plant. Lettuce bought at this temple during the festival is supposed to encourage the birth of boy babies, prolong life, cure sickness, and ensure health. Few of the people come away without a bunch of lettuce.

### FAMILIAR SPIRITS.

It is common to meet Chinese women who act as mediums for the spirit supposed to have its dwelling in some idol. I knew one such woman well during my first term in China. Her parents had been the first Christians in the district, and her younger sister was also a believer. She too wished to become a Christian, but was hindered by her occupation. Finally she decided to let it go, and before we left on our first furlough she brought me the small idol that represented the spirit she had served. She told me that when people came seeking her help she would pray before this idol until suddenly she would go into a trance, during which the spirit took possession of her and used her mouth in making known its revelations. These revelations were often most uncanny in their knowledge of things she herself knew nothing about and in the successful results following obedience to the directions given. She died very soon after becoming a Christian, and doubtless the community around would believe the spirit had taken vengeance on her.

But there is no time to follow the endless vagaries of Taoist superstitions. It is against these that the Nationalist Government has declared war. Only last month a cable from Shanghai appeared in the New Zealand press announcing that all forms of superstition and the practice of occult arts would be rigorously suppressed. Such age-old superstitions are not abolished, however, by Government decrees,

but by enlightened education. The actions of ruthless soldiers, who fear neither gods nor men, in smashing up idols and using temples and monasteries as barracks and stables bring no real reform. Neither does the seizing of the valuable property belonging to these religious orders by greedy officials.

One of the most devoted evangelists our Mission has ever had was formerly one of these Taoist priests. And a lad belonging to a family which for generations had followed this vocation became one of the finest students ever trained in the Union Theological College, and is now doing splendid work among students.

### BUDDHA IN CHINA.

Buddhism has provided something better than Taoism for the Chinese. This religion came from India about 66 A.D. It was only in 49 B.C. that the Confucian cult obtained favour at the Imperial court. Most of the emperors until that date had leanings toward Taoism. It is interesting to note that the period when both Confucianism and Taoism became definitely consolidated as accepted religious systems and when Buddhism was introduced from abroad was so close to the time when Jesus lived and sent His disciples forth to teach all nations. Tradition says that in 62 A.D. the then emperor had a vision. He dreamt that a golden man with a bright light on the crown of his head had floated through the air into the palace. A courtier who heard of the vision said it must have been Buddha, who was a divinity in the lands of the West. The emperor sent a special mission to India, and after two or three years' absence the messengers returned with a huge standing image of Buddha and forty-two books or chapters of sutras. Two Hindus came back with the mission, and on arrival began the study of the Chinese language, so that they might translate the sutras. No sooner had it entered the country than the emperor's own brother came under its in-

fluence. Later he attempted to foster a rebellion against the throne, the failure of which led to his own suicide and the temporary discrediting of the new religion. In 147 A.D. an emperor came to the throne who was fond of the mysteries both of Taoism and Buddhism. More Buddhist missionaries came from Central Asia and India. They taught celibacy and the transmigration of souls. These doctrines roused hostility because they clashed with the accepted belief in ancestor worship. For such reasons its adherents suffered persecution. However, it adapted itself to the conditions it found in China. "It agreed with the ethical emphasis of the native faiths, adjusted itself in part to the family system, was tolerant of the native religious beliefs, and yet at the same time brought in definite teachings about a future life and the offer of age-long happiness or prolonged woe, a rich mystical life, an elaborate philosophy, an ornate ceremonial, and an extensive literature. It appealed, moreover, both to the educated and the uneducated. In other words, without running entirely counter to any of the fundamental native beliefs or institutions, it strengthened some of them and offered to fill a void."

The Buddhism which has secured such a firm footing in both China and Japan is known as Mahayana Buddhism. It glorifies those who seek to become Buddhas, not for the sake of their own salvation, but for the salvation of the world, refusing to enter Nirvana until every human soul is freed from pain and sorrow. It has been fortunate in having as one of its deities the Goddess of Mercy—Kwan-yin. She is the favourite god of the Chinese women, and the constant stream of women that resort to her many temples and pour out their burdened hearts to her is eloquent of the place she fills in their affection and trust.

## CULTURE AND CRUDITY.

The best known modern exponent of Buddhism in China is a scholarly monk known as Tai Hsü. His writings and addresses have had a most powerful appeal. In one of his books—"The Science of Humanity"—he seeks to reconcile Buddhism with modern science, and does so by explaining religion as a subjective experience. This experience is common to the idolator, the spirit worshipper, the Christian, and others who worship one God, and those who relate themselves to the universe in an attitude of reverence towards it. He considers Buddhism the most scientific religion, although its secrets are not found by the path of intellectualism, but by the psychological approach to the facts of life. Under the influence of Tai Hsü and other leaders there has been a widespread revival of Buddhism in China, specially through the organising of lay groups in the chief centres of population. Many important men and women are associated with this movement.

At the other extreme from these cultured leaders are the ordinary Buddhist monks and nuns, who are ignorant in mind, often dissolute in character, and who find an easy living by preying on the common folk in their unenlightened superstition. One has only to visit a place like the Shing Wong (City Moat) temple in Canton to see how effectively this is done. In such temples, which are found in most cities, there is a representation of the Buddhist hell, where one sees life-sized figures of men being boiled in oil, torn by demons, ground in a mill, impaled on pointed stakes, having their tongues pulled out with red-hot pincers, etc. Naturally credulous people will give a good deal to escape the possibility of such torment for themselves or their relatives. A striking commentary on the failure of such terrors to reform the more callous among evildoers is found in the notices all round the place, "Beware of pick-pockets." The Canton Municipal Council closed this



temple some years ago, but it was later reopened. One of the worst things a Chinese can call anyone whom he wishes to vilify is "woh sheung" or "Buddhist priest." Thus there are two types of Buddhism in China. There is the debased form accepted by the masses because of ignorant superstition and ministered by priests and nuns who are despised on account of their evil reputation. Then there is the more cultured and spiritual teaching, which makes its appeal to thinking people conscious of their religious need.

### A CHRISTIAN EXPERIMENT.

Dr Karl Reichelt, a Norwegian Lutheran missionary, after long experience in Central China, during which he specialised in the study of Buddhism and tried to influence its adherents, opened an institute in Nanking about twelve years ago with that object in view. The anti-Christian and anti-foreign outburst at Nanking in 1927 destroyed the work. Since then it has been reopened on a hill situated in the New Territory on the mainland opposite Hongkong. Dr Reichelt has called the place "Tao Fung Shan" or "Mount Winds of the Way." The buildings are modelled after those of the ordinary Buddhist monastery, and the symbols used, inscriptions, and even the liturgy and ceremonies connected with worship, are all designed to attract Buddhists and Taoists through the medium of the best in their own faith towards an appreciation of Christ and His revelation of God. I spent some days in the institute a year ago, and found its life and methods extremely interesting and thought-provoking. With my Presbyterian background, I was not ready to express an easy approval of all that I saw. The Bishop of Victoria, Hongkong, has become a warm friend of the institute, and has formed an inter-denominational supporting group in Hongkong.

Christianity in China has thus far failed to produce a literature that can compete for effectiveness

of style with the works of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. This is a serious handicap in a country where literary finesse means so much among the cultured classes. Now that the classical style is being displaced by a simpler colloquial where virility and reality have a new value, Christianity will have a better chance in the field of religious literature.

### ISLAM AND CHINA.

Strangely enough there has not yet been discovered any account of the first introduction of Mohammedanism into China. We know that about the year 657 A.D. an Arab embassy came to the Imperial court, and Chinese histories of the period describe the customs of the Arabs in veiling their women and in worshipping the Spirit of Heaven five times daily. They speak of the mosque, where every seven days the king sits aloft and preaches to the people, saying, "He who dies in battle is born in heaven above; he who kills an enemy receives bliss." In 713 A.D. another Arab mission came to the capital, when the envoy at first refused to kneel before the emperor, saying he did not kneel before his own king, but only to heaven. Under strong pressure he finally agreed.

In the year 758 Arab and Persian soldiers and merchants conspired to attack Canton. At that time there must have been a considerable Arab population in China, most of them mercenary soldiers who had been hired for the prosecution of several wars, probably for the subjugation of the wild tribes in South China. There were also a good number of traders. There still stands a very ancient prayer tower at Canton erected about 900 A.D., which is locally known as the plain or smooth pagoda. It is not a pagoda, however, the pagoda being a high temple in a number of stories meant to represent the Buddhist idea of heaven, with its successive stages leading up to Nirvana. At one time the tower had a wooden platform

near the top, from which the muezzin called the faithful to prayer. There is an even older mosque beside it, with numerous Arabic inscriptions. On my first visit, thirty years ago, there was an old Chinese mullah in charge who could read the Koran in Arabic. He had been on pilgrimage to Mecca, and was teaching a class of boys. In a Mohammedan cemetery outside the city there is a small mosque which is said to mark the grave of Mahomet's maternal uncle.

The Moslem community in South China is not large. When the Mongols conquered China in the thirteenth century they introduced Mussulmans into the northern and central provinces, appointing many to official positions, as they could not trust the loyalty of the Chinese to their new lords. Throughout the period of the Mongol occupation—from 1200 to 1368—there are frequent references to these officers. The result was that the followers of the prophet became strongly entrenched in the north-west provinces of China proper and in Mongolia and Manchuria. Thus in these regions to-day Mussulman Chinese are very numerous. As a rule, they are law-abiding and more thrifty, manly, and self-respecting than the Chinese around them, although they are responsible for occasional rebellions against local officials. When the Republic was established and the five-colour banner took the place of the dragon flag of the Manchu dynasty the black bar in the flag represented the Chinese Moslems, thus recognising them as racially distinct. Widely scattered and divided into various sects, they yet maintain a remarkable solidarity. Their belief in one God and in Mahomet as His prophet, their non-participation in the prevailing idolatrous practices, and their abstinence from pork (one of the most common articles of diet) mark them out as peculiar. In order to follow their customs with the minimum of difficulty, they try to secure a monopoly of certain trades. Along the main highways they have their own inns and restaurants. At

larger centres their places of worship, with resident teachers and perhaps the tomb of a Moslem saint, make Mohammedan travellers feel at home. Their racial and religious solidarity have kept them largely impervious to Christian influence. Under the direction of Dr Samuel Zwemer, who has paid at least two lengthy visits to the field, special efforts are being made by missionaries and Chinese Christians best fitted for the task, mainly through the distribution of literature and personal interviews. The total Mohammedan population in China is probably under ten million.

There have been occasional attempts to adjust their religion to modern conditions, and the Koran has recently been translated into Chinese. But it is making no fresh appeal to the China of to-day. As a Chinese observer says, "None can fail to be impressed by the faithfulness of the Mohammedans in the observance of religious rites and traditions, the solemnity of their worship in the mosque, and the strength of group consciousness among them. But apart from the loyalty of the small modernist group, with their animosity for Christians, the altar fire of their religion burns low and fitfully in the uncongenial winds of modern China. Its proselytising zeal was spent long ago, and its usefulness as a factor in the building of a new civilisation in this ancient land is negligible. This may appear a harsh judgment, but in the long history of the religion in China its contribution to literature, art, or spirituality has been practically nothing."

### RELIGIOUS BANKRUPTCY.

Even this very fragmentary study of Chinese religious life will have impressed us with the difficulties inherent in the task of winning the people of China to faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Saviour. The ground into which the missionary casts his seed is not virgin soil. Every part of it is already overgrown with the results of earlier sowing. Roots

are intertwined with age-old association and custom. The good seed can hardly escape falling among thorns, and the thorns have been first in the field by hundreds and even thousands of years. But the ground of the Chinese heart has something more friendly to the good seed than thorns. Knowledge of the religious history of the Chinese race would lead the Christian teacher to expect certain tendencies which would prejudice for, as well as many that would prejudice against, his message. The comparative monotheism of their ancient civilisation, their enlightened ethical consciousness, their appreciation of altruistic service, and their belief in a future life are all factors which should be a preparation for the Gospel. But even at their best they have a desperate need of Christ's salvation. Let us close the lecture with three quotations:—

Dr James Legge, the eminent sinologue who translated the classics and published a book on "The Religions of China," wrote: "I have been reading Chinese books for more than forty years, and any general requirement to love God, or the mention of anyone actually loving Him, has yet to come under my eye."

Rev. Campbell N. Moody, for many years a missionary among the Chinese in Formosa and the author of several standard books, says "In our sense of the word the people have no religion at all, or almost none. They have no communion with their gods, and if they ever pray it is for good harvests, trade, safety, health, and so on. There is no confession of sin and never a prayer for grace to live a life well-pleasing to the gods. . . . The one religious thought is that good behaviour is acceptable to the gods, and especially to heaven."

A Chinese student leader wrote some years ago: "Personally, I believe the Chinese people as a whole are religiously bankrupt. Ask the average man on the street as to his religious ideas and experiences, and he would scarcely know what to say."

## LECTURE III.

### CHRISTIAN BEGINNINGS IN CHINA.

“Others have laboured.”

#### THE LUMINOUS RELIGION.

In tracing the history of Christianity in China it would be less than just to ignore the labours of the missionaries who preceded the Protestant Churches in carrying the Gospel to that land. We need not waste time over the tradition that the Apostle Thomas preached both in India and China. But we are on the solid basis of historic fact when we say that Christian missionaries entered China in the seventh century. These first messengers of the Cross represented the Nestorian Church.

Early in the fifth century the Nestorian schismatics had branched off from the Western Church. And while the Church at Rome was slowly extending its boundaries among the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Slavonic races of Europe, the disciples of Nestorius were alike zealous in their missionary labours among the equally barbaric Tartar and Scythic tribes of Asia.

When Mahomet died in 632 Abu Bakr stood up in front of the disappointed hosts of the faithful, who had expected Allah's prophet to lead them in conquering the world, declaring, “Mahomet is dead; the Faith lives!” This cry rallied the armies to attack Syria and Persia, and everywhere they were victorious. The conquered peoples were offered a choice from three possibilities—to pay tribute, to become Moslems, or die. The Nestorian Christians were first driven by these conquering armies from Edessa (now Urfu, in N.W. Mesopotamia), where early Christianity had established a vigorous Church, which had become an educational and administrative centre. Later they were driven from Nisibus, in Persia—a station which had assumed

similar ecclesiastical importance. Consequent on these enforced migrations, large numbers of men with cultivated minds and fired to some extent with the missionary spirit, spread themselves among the various countries of Asia, carrying the Gospel even to the remotest regions of the East. The persecution of the Nestorians by their Arab conquerors did not last long. In fact, the later Caliphs not only tolerated them, but they were actually given high offices at their court in Bagdad. And from this centre, which gave them a wider opportunity because of its trading facilities with other parts of Asia, they extended their missionary labours.

### THE NESTORIAN TABLET.

Our chief source of information regarding the Nestorian missionaries in China is the famous tablet discovered in the year 1625 near the city of Sian-fu, in Shensi Province. Some workmen were then digging foundations for the building of a house near Chou-chih, a district city about 30 or 40 miles from Sian-fu, which was an ancient capital of the Empire. They unearthed a large stone tablet of exquisite workmanship and in excellent preservation. The local magistrate came to view it. It was in the form of a gravestone, and the inscription followed the usual line of biographies in Chinese memorials. It claimed to be 844 years old. The mandarin worshipped before it, and had it carefully moved and suitably housed in a Taoist temple in the city. All the scholars around came to see it, and there was great excitement. The news of the discovery reached the Jesuit priests already resident in Peking, Hangchow, and elsewhere. Scholarly and influential Roman Catholic converts also heard of it with deep interest. A French Jesuit priest and two Christian officials belonging to Shensi visited the stone in the year of its discovery, and through them the news of the find spread throughout Europe.

It was a fortunate happening for the Jesuits, who were just beginning to feel the pressure of persecution. The fact attested by the tablet that Christianity enjoyed Imperial favour as far back as the seventh century gave great encouragement to the Christians and an enormous impulse to mission work. Precedent means a great deal to a conservative people like the Chinese. In 1623 (two years previous to the discovery) the Roman Church reported 5000 converts for the whole of China, while in 1663 they had 110,000. The authenticity of the tablet was at first questioned by some, among them Voltaire, but it is now undisputed. Further proof of the early presence of Nestorians in China was forthcoming in 1908, when Professor Pelliot discovered a Chinese Christian manuscript of the T'ang period containing a hymn to the Trinity. It is not known why the tablet was buried nor when. Its perfect preservation suggests that it was new when buried, and it was probably hidden by Christians at some time of danger to save it from destruction.

At the head of the stone there is a cross which closely resembles that on the reputed tomb of St. Thomas at Malabar, in India. Beside the cross are the Buddhist emblem of the lotus and the Taoist emblem of the cloud. The title in large characters is "A Monument of the Diffusion Throughout the Middle Kingdom of the Luminous Religion of Ta Ts'in." The "Middle Kingdom" is, of course, China, and "Ta Ts'in" was the old Chinese name for Syria and the other countries of the Roman Orient. The writer is named as one Adam, the head of the Luminous Religion in China, and the Chinese calligraphist as Lu Hsiu-yen. The inscription begins with a statement of Christian doctrine, in which it is stated the Triune God created all things and Satan brought about man's fall. The incarnation, virgin birth, holy life, and ascension of a Saviour called "Messiah" are spoken of. Baptism



and the Scriptures are also mentioned. It records the coming of the Nestorians to China in 635 and the issue of an Imperial decree in 638, lauding the new religion and permitting a monastery to be built in the capital, to which twenty-one men were to be admitted as monks. The tablet also states that "the great Emperor, Kao Tsung (650-683) had caused monasteries of the Luminous Religion to be founded in every prefecture. He honoured A-lo-pen (a Nestorian missionary) by conferring on him the office of the Great Patron and Spiritual Lord of the Empire. The law spread throughout the ten provinces and the empire enjoyed great peace and concord. Monasteries were built in many cities, and every family enjoyed great felicity."

It is quite evident from this inscription that the earliest propagation of the Christian faith had a very propitious introduction, and that it met with few initial difficulties. This was one of the most brilliant periods in Chinese history. There was peace, strength, wealth and culture within the empire. China was so strong in Central Asia that her boundaries and those of Persia were coterminous. The court at Chang-an (later called Sian-fu) was the goal of many embassies—from Arabia, Persia, India, and even from Constantinople. The moment was the most auspicious in many ways for the introduction of Christianity. But for some reason or other this Church, thus full of early promise, so completely disappeared before the end of the ninth century that there is no trace of it during the tenth or eleventh. It is known that in 845 a great religious persecution broke out in China which was specially directed against the Buddhists, and that the Christian Church also suffered. But where the many buildings, monuments, books, priests, monks, and Church members disappeared to is a mystery which may never be completely solved. It has been conjectured that for self-protection the members may have merged them-

selves into the larger Mohammedan community. It is also suggested that they hid themselves in a number of secret sects. Others hold that many of the Nestorians were absorbed into the Buddhist cult, and this accounts for some of the likenesses to Christianity found in Mahayana Buddhism. Dr Legge thought it perished because it was not sufficiently Christian to survive. Speaking of the summary of doctrines on the tablet, he says: "An emasculated Christianity deprived of the leading features of the Gospel, swamped by Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas, a certain degenerate nominal Christianity existed in a miserable monastic form in China from 635 to 781."

### MONGOL PATRONAGE.

Although Christianity practically disappeared in China proper it continued to spread among the nomad Tartars of Central Asia. In the thirteenth century came the remarkable Mongol irruption which brought a race out of the comparative obscurity of the plains lying north-west of China, and in a brief period made them masters of the whole of China, Central Asia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and parts of Europe as far west as Poland. The Mongol conquest facilitated the re-entrance of Christianity into China. It brought the Chinese into contact with Christian peoples. It made the highways safe and created a constant stream of traffic between China and Western Asia.

The Mongol Khans proved tolerant of all faiths, and subsidised teachers and priests to labour among the Moslems, Buddhists, and Christians connected with their armies. One of the tribes conquered by Jenghiz Khan was the Kerait—a Turkish tribe which had been Christianised by the Nestorians. To transform the conquest into an alliance Jenghiz married his son to a daughter of the Kerait chief. This Christian princess became the mother of three of the

later Khans—including the greatest of them all, Kubilai Khan. Another of his sons married a Christian. Through such alliances the Nestorians came back into favour and power in China. But they were so closely linked up with the Mongol conquerors that when the Mongols were driven out by the Chinese in the fourteenth century the Nestorians went with them. They left no Chinese Church behind them, although there seem to have been a few isolated Christian communities. The Assyrian Church sent missionaries to China in 1490 and in 1502, but they were persecuted by the authorities, and in 1608 we have the last historical record of these “worshippers of the Cross,” as they were called by the Chinese.

It may be admitted that most of these Nestorian Christians were more nominal than real. While they enjoyed official patronage their cause prospered, but it could not stand the testing of persecution. The missionaries may have neglected the training of an indigenous ministry, so that when they were banished the Church was scattered and starved for lack of leadership. But the chief reason for failure was that the Chinese did not yet feel their need of the message the missionaries brought. They were satisfied with what they already possessed. That message had not been given to the countries from which the Nestorians' religion came, nor to the missionaries themselves, something which the Chinese were ready to recognise as of supreme value. Foreign mission work in China to-day finds itself conditioned by the same consideration.

### ENTRANCE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

We have already noted that the Mohammedans and the Nestorians found a new opportunity in China under the protection of the Mongol Khans. It was under the same patronage that the Roman Church received its first invitation. Among the foreign visitors to the court of Kubilai Khan at Cambaluc

(Peking) were two Italian merchants—brothers—named Maffeo and Nicolo Polo, who arrived in 1265. They were the first Europeans, so far as is known, to enter China. When they returned home they carried a letter from the Khan to the Pope. The contents of the letter are thus summarised: “He begged that the Pope would send as many as an hundred members of our Christian faith: intelligent men, acquainted with the seven arts, well qualified to enter into controversy, and able clearly to prove by force of argument to idolators and other kinds of folk that the Law of Christ was best, and that all other religions were false and nought. If they would prove this he and all under him would become Christians and the Church’s liegemen. Finally he charged the envoys to bring back to him some oil of the lamp which burns in the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem.”

When the Polos returned to Europe the papal see was vacant, and two years later they had begun their journey back to China when a new Pope was appointed. He sent messengers after them, and they went to Acre, where they received papal letters for the Khan and two Dominican monks joined them. These monks became scared by the perils of the way and returned to Europe. The Polo brothers, accompanied by the son of Nicolo named Marco, travelled on to Cathay—as China was then called. The young Marco entered the service of Kubilai and stayed in China for a number of years. The narrative of his experiences aroused great interest in Europe and is still widely read.

The first Roman Catholic missionary to enter China was a Franciscan monk—John of Montecorvino. He was commissioned in 1288 by Pope Nicholas IV to visit the East, and after going to India, he joined a caravan on its way to China. On arrival he was kindly received by the Mongol Khan. He complains that the Nestorians opposed his pro-

gress, being jealous of his entrance. For eleven years he worked alone in Peking, and during that time he claims to have baptised 6000 persons. He also bought 150 children, whom he instructed in Greek and Latin. He was appointed archbishop in 1307, and seven bishops were sent to assist him, only three of whom arrived at their destination. The Pope ordered him to have the mysteries of Scripture represented by pictures in his churches for the purpose of captivating the eyes of the heathen. The following extract from one of John's letters, written before the coming of reinforcements, is pathetic: "It is now twelve years since I have heard any news from the West. I am become old and grey-headed, but it is rather through labours and tribulations than through age, for I am only 58 years old. I have learned the Tartar language and literature, into which I have translated the whole New Testament and the Psalms of David, and have caused them to be transcribed with the utmost care. I write and read and preach openly and freely the testimony of the Law of Christ." He died between 1328 and 1333. A successor and assistants were sent out to continue the mission, but the work of these Franciscan brothers was so completely confined to the Mongols that when they were driven out by the Chinese the Roman Church, like the Nestorian, seems to drop right out of Chinese history. It is known, however, that when the history of the Ming dynasty, which followed the Mongols, was published by the Manchu conquerors they deliberately expunged all references to contact with Europe. But, as far as mission work was concerned, there was probably nothing to record.

### ROME'S SECOND ENTRANCE.

The next attempt on the part of the Roman Church to enter China came in the middle of the sixteenth century. The rapid development of the nations in Europe, with their wide programme of dis-

covery and occupation, was shared in by the Roman Catholic Church. When Catholic nations like France, Spain, and Portugal undertook schemes of colonisation it was inevitable that the Church should share in the enterprise. Religious orders such as the Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Jesuits were large, earnest and experienced missionary agencies. But they found China inhospitable to foreigners and very suspicious of the European traders and travellers that visited her shores. The occupation of Macao by the Portuguese and the annexation by Spain of the Philippine Islands gave the Catholic Church headquarters within easy reach of China, but at the same time increased Chinese suspicion.

### CATHOLIC PIONEERS.

Francis Xavier, known as the Apostle of the Indies and the greatest of the Jesuit missionaries, went to Japan in 1549, and on his way from India touched at Canton. During his residence in Japan he learned that the culture of the island empire had been derived from China, and he concluded the only way to give the Christian religion a permanent place in Japanese life was to win recognition of that religion in China. So he planned an expedition to China, but was disappointed, and finally died on the island of Shang-chuan, a small island off the coast of South China used as an anchorage for Portuguese trading ships. He was attended in his last hours by a young Chinese Christian named Antonio who had accompanied Xavier from India. An annual pilgrimage to the place of his death was arranged last year, and five hundred pilgrims from South China travelled to the island to take part in the celebrations. The body of the saint was removed to Goa, in India.

The first Jesuit missionaries to secure a permanent foothold in China were Michael Ruggerius and Francis Pasio, who had studied the Chinese language and literature in Macao. During 1582 they

succeeded, through the giving of presents to the Viceroy at Canton, in obtaining permission to live at Chao-ching on the West River, then the official capital of the two Kwang provinces. The most influential member in this earliest group of Jesuit missionaries—Matteo Ricci—followed them the next year. He was a skilled mathematician, very scholarly, and because he was also patient and courteous he made a great impression on the Chinese literati, some of whom placed themselves under the tuition of the missionaries. Ruggerius and two new arrivals, through the goodwill thus secured, extended operations to Hangchow and several other cities in Central China. Opposition was soon aroused, and Ricci determined to seek official recognition for the Mission at Peking. He set out from Chao-ching for this purpose in 1595, but it took six years of persistence in face of numerous obstacles and seemingly insurmountable difficulties before he reached the capital. The story of his final success is a tribute to his Christian zeal and Jesuit diplomacy. He was called into the presence of the emperor, to whom he presented pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, with a harpsichord and a striking clock. The emperor arranged for his accommodation and granted him a stipend. The Imperial favour thus secured, the Jesuits established stations in different provinces, and others joined their leader in the capital.

One of the earliest converts won by Ricci during a lengthened stay at Nanking while on his way to Peking was a distinguished official named Hsü Kwang-chi, better known by his baptismal name of Paul Hsü. He became a tower of strength to the missionaries. His daughter Candida was an earnest Christian and gave her life to good works and the spread of the Gospel. She is said to have devised the method of teaching professional story-tellers the Gospel narrative, so that it might reach the masses of the people. The present big centre of Jesuit edu-

cation in China is in the home village of the Hsü family at Zikawei, Shanghai, on property that was given by Paul Hsü.

Naturally the favour shown to the missionaries aroused some opposition in official circles, but their diligence was such that by 1636 they had published no fewer than 340 treatises, some of them religious, but most scientific, dealing with natural philosophy and mathematics. When Ricci died in 1610 the emperor sanctioned the site for his burial place outside the city wall. He was mainly responsible for the policy of adjusting the Christian faith to its Chinese environment. Even his funeral service and the tomb in which he was laid were modelled after those of the Chinese.

Twenty years after Ricci's death a German Jesuit—Adam Schaal—became even more influential than his renowned predecessor. The last emperor of the Ming dynasty appointed Schaal and another missionary to the Imperial Astronomical Board. They prepared the astronomical instruments which were in use at Peking until the occupation of Peking by the Allied troops after the Boxer rising, when they were carried away by the German officers and placed on the terrace at Potsdam Palace. Under the treaty of Versailles the German Government was obliged to return these to China. Schaal also rendered service to his patrons by casting bronze cannon. But these cannon were not sufficient to keep out the rebel troops that invaded Peking in 1644. When the city was seized Schaal and all the Christians, who had taken refuge in the church, were spared. The Manchus were invited by the rebel Chinese to assist in the overthrowing of the Ming dynasty. They came, and, like the camel in the fable, once they got their foot in the whole body followed, and the invited guest became the proprietor. After occupying the capital they gradually conquered the empire, the Ming rulers



slowly retiring toward the south and making their last stand in South China. The Empress Dowager of the defeated house and the heir to the throne were already baptised Christians. The Manchus, under the title of the Ts'ing dynasty, continued their rule until China became a republic in 1911. The last emperor, just a boy at the time of the revolution, and known in private life as Henry Pu-yi, is now nominal ruler of Manchukuo.

### CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE MANCHUS.

The first Manchu Emperor became very friendly with Schaal. Paul Hsü continued his office under the new Government, and did all he could to further the missionary cause. One of his outstanding contributions was his revision of the literature produced by the missionaries so that it might be acceptable to the scholarly classes. Other Catholic orders—the Dominicans and the Franciscans—encouraged by the opening secured, flocked into China, although not very warmly welcomed by their Jesuit brothers. When the first emperor—Shun-chieh—died, four regents were appointed to manage the affairs of State until the boy emperor—K'ang Hsi—came of age. Moslem enemies of Christianity, who were jealous of the position of State patronage enjoyed by the Jesuits, petitioned the regents to interdict the religion as a dangerous foreign cult. In 1665 the Government decreed that Schaal and his associates were guilty of seducing the people by teaching a false and seditious doctrine, and Schaal, with his companions, was thrown into prison. Schaal, was condemned to death, but was freed, as it is said, because a timely earthquake was attributed by the populace to the injustice done him, and partly because of the intervention of the Dowager Empress. He did not long survive his release. The persecution spread throughout the provinces, and some twenty-five missionaries of different orders were taken to Canton and there imprisoned preparatory to deportation.

## CHRISTIAN RELIGION LEGALISED.

When the young Emperor K'ang Hsi ascended the dragon throne he adopted his father's friendly attitude to the missionaries, becoming especially fond of a scholar named Verbiest. The Moslem who had been mainly responsible for the degradation of Schaal, and had taken his position as official astronomer, was not able to hold his own in tests applied to his knowledge by the emperor. Verbiest demonstrated his superiority in astronomy and mathematics, and so secured the appointment. The Jesuits were thus once more in control of the calendar, and won at least partial recognition for their Faith. Verbiest was commissioned by the emperor to cast cannon, which he did with considerable success, producing in all 450, blessing each piece in a solemn manner and giving them the names of different saints. Enemies in Europe criticised him for this, but the Pope commended his action in "using the profane sciences for the safety of the people and the advancement of the Faith." Through the aid thus given and assistance rendered by the Jesuits in negotiating a treaty with Russia in 1689, an Imperial edict was issued permitting the teaching of Christianity throughout the whole empire. Five years later the emperor sent a Jesuit missionary to Rome with gifts, and a request for more workers from France. They were permitted to build a church within the walls of the Forbidden City. In 1704 the control of flood relief work in Shantung was entrusted to the missionaries. Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century Christianity enjoyed freedom and faced a limitless opportunity for spiritual conquest in China.

## A DIVIDED CHURCH.

This golden opportunity, long desired, was lost because of the use of unspiritual methods and through sectarian rivalry. Ever since the other orders had

come in to share the success of the Jesuits there had been endless disputations between them. They differed regarding the name to be used for God, and the allowing of Church members to worship the emperor, their ancestors, and Confucius and the sages. Ricci had drawn up regulations for the Jesuits in which he declared such customs secular and civil and thus permissible to converts. A Spanish Dominican opposed this view, condemning such customs as idolatrous and thus sinful. This attitude was confirmed by Pope Innocent X, but was revised ten years later by Pope Alexander VII, who accepted the Jesuit explanation. In 1665 twenty-three priests met in the Jesuit seminary at Canton and drew up forty-two articles as rules of conduct, one of which read as follows: "In respect to the customs by which the Chinese worship Confucius and the deceased, the answer of the congregation of the Universal Inquisition, sanctioned in 1656 by his Holiness Alexander VII, shall be invariably followed, for it is founded upon the most probable opinion, without any evident proof to the contrary, and this probability being admitted, the door of salvation must not be shut against innumerable Chinese, who would abandon our Christian religion were they forbidden those things that they may lawfully and without injury to their faith attend to, and forced to give up what cannot be abandoned without serious consequences."

The dispute became very virulent, and in 1699 the Jesuits took the extraordinary step of referring the matters under dispute to the emperor for decision. The emperor decided that the name "T'ien" connoted the True God, and that the Chinese customs referred to were only civil and political rites without religious significance. Finally, Pope Clement XI issued a decree in 1704 which was to end the dispute. This stated that "T'ien" as used by the Chinese meant nothing more than the material heavens and

so was not to be used for God, and that the customs in question were idolatrous and not permissible to converts. A papal legate was sent to China to proclaim this mandate. But Emperor K'ang Hsi was far too strong and proud a man to allow any Pope to teach him the meaning of a Chinese word or to legislate for his subjects. He decreed that he would countenance only such missionaries as accepted his royal interpretation and that all others would be interdicted. The papal legate was banished to Macao, and examiners were appointed by the Government to find out on which side the missionaries stood. The legate forbade the missionaries, on pain of excommunication, from holding any discussion on the points at issue with the examiners. At first there was no persecution, but owing to the continued disputes and the resistance of the Imperial commands by some of the converts, and also because of representations from officials that the new religion was undermining his authority, the emperor decided to adopt stern measures. He gradually restricted the missionaries in their work, keeping a watchful eye on those in the capital and allowing the persecution of missionaries and converts in the provinces.

### CHRISTIANITY INTERDICTED.

After the death of K'ang Hsi in 1723 his successor, Yung Ching, adopted even more stringent methods. An order was promulgated strictly forbidding any effort to propagate the Christian religion, thus withdrawing entirely the liberty granted under the previous monarch. All missionaries not required at Peking for scientific purposes were ordered to leave the country, those resident at Canton being alone excepted. In this way most of the three hundred thousand converts were deprived of their foreign teachers. Many of the missionaries in the interior secreted themselves, and converts showed the greatest

fidelity to them even at the risk of imprisonment and death. From time to time persecution would break out and the missionaries would be arrested and imprisoned. Some were tortured, beaten, strangled, or beheaded, while many were deported. The sufferings of the Chinese priests and converts were very much greater. A contemporary witness said of them: "Many exhibit the greatest constancy in their profession, suffering persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment, and death rather than deny their faith, though every inducement to prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures."

During the first half of the nineteenth century persecution relaxed somewhat, although in 1814, 1816 and 1819 European priests were officially executed in the interior. The edict interdicting the Christian religion was not revoked until after 1844, when, as a result of the first war between Britain and China, and representations made by an enlightened Manchu plenipotentiary, Emperor Tao Kwang issued a rescript granting toleration to Christianity, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

### "TAKE HEED TO THYSELF."

It is easy for us in these more enlightened days to find grievous faults in the earlier representatives of Christianity and their converts. We need to remember that the European missionaries represented the civilisation of their own time, and the interrelations of European politics had their repercussions on co-operation by the different orders even within the Roman Church. There was often a clash between loyalties to Church and State. And there was a large intermixture of mediaeval superstition with genuine faith. The priests devoted much effort to the baptism of the dying children of heathen parents. Their

statistics of successful missionary work reported regularly the number of children and others baptised *in articulo mortis*. On the religious life of China these generations of Christians made almost no impression. The attempt of the missionaries to secure official prestige resulted in disaster. Compromise is always dangerous. But after considering the record of their service and sufferings one is inclined to be charitable. There are many incidents of heroic devotion which might well shame us. Dr William Milne—Morrison's colleague—wrote of their labours: "The learning, personal virtues and ardent zeal of some of them deserve to be imitated by all future missionaries; will be equalled by few, and perhaps rarely exceeded by any. Their steadfastness and triumph in the midst of persecutions, even to blood and death, in all imaginable forms, shew that the questionable Christianity which they taught is to be ascribed to the effect of education, not design, and afford good reason to believe that they have long since joined the army of martyrs and are now wearing the crown of those who spared not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb and the word of His testimony."

They climbed the steep ascent of heaven

Through peril, toil and pain:

O God, to us may grace be given

To follow in their train.

## LECTURE IV.

### PROTESTANT PIONEERS.

#### "BACK-SEAT DRIVING."

A year ago I attended a conference on "Theological Literature" at Shanghai, and while there heard Dr Samuel Zwemer give an address at a missionary gathering. Dr Zwemer is an American missionary with an honoured name because of his labours and achievements for Moslems in all lands. He was in China to visit the great Mohammedan region in the North-West, and also to address summer conferences of missionary and Chinese leaders. He told us that some time ago he was asked to address a large convention of young folk in the United States. The organisers wished to have the subject of his address for advertising purposes. He suggested something about "Lessons from the Past," which the secretary at once turned down as making no appeal to the younger generation. After a moment's thought, Dr Zwemer said: "How would 'Back-seat Driving' do?" That was "just the thing," and so he was announced as speaking on that subject. His text was from Isaiah 30: 21: "Thine ears shall hear a word behind thee saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left." With this introduction Dr Zwemer addressed the missionaries on the supreme importance of studying the past history of missions in China in order to get guiding for the problems of to-day. They must listen to the "word behind them."

The centenary anniversary of Robert Morrison's death provides a unique opportunity for recalling the beginnings of Protestant mission effort in China and emphasising afresh the lessons we can learn from that heroic pioneer. Throughout the whole Christian world there will be pilgrimages, in mind at least,

to the scene of his arduous labours in the city of Canton and the hallowed spot where his dust lies in the Protestant cemetery at Macao.

### FINDING THE LOST COMMISSION.

One of the first things to strike us when we think of Morrison is the lateness of the date at which the Protestant Church attempted an entrance into China. Protestant countries had taken no large part in the earlier discoveries and conquests by European nations. These were made by Portugal, Spain, and France, and the Roman Church found new opportunities for mission extension along the line of colonising development. It was only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that Protestant nations assumed importance by overseas projects. Then the early Protestant leaders were too busy defining and defending their theological positions and in organising the Church to have time or energy for foreign missions. There was also a widespread theory that Christians generally had no such obligation. The command to preach the Gospel to every creature was considered as being binding only on the apostles. It was not until towards the end of the eighteenth century that the associate organisations were formed which marked the beginnings of the modern Protestant missionary movement. The churches even then were not ready to commit themselves. Among the associations formed in Britain the London Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society had a definite interest in carrying the Gospel to China. Attention was called to the existence in the British Museum of a manuscript in Chinese containing a translation of the greater part of the New Testament, and a plea was widely spread for the circulation of the Scriptures among the Chinese people in their own language.



## NURTURE AND DECISION.

Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to reach China, was the son of a Scot belonging to Dunfermline, in Fifeshire. As a young man the father crossed the border into Northumberland, where he married, and followed the trade of a last and boot-tree maker. He retained his old Church connection by joining the Scotch Church in Newcastle, where he was ordained as an elder. Robert was the youngest of eight children. After an ordinary elementary education in a school conducted by his mother's brother Robert began work in his father's shop. Later he continued his trade under an uncle in a neighbouring town. He had no love for the work, and, leaving his uncle, he actually joined a company of strolling play-actors. Of this experience he wrote later: "When very young I was a companion of the drunkard, the Sabbath-breaker, the swearer, the proud person, but in these my heart smote me; I had no rest." He returned to his father's employment. At the age of fifteen or sixteen he made the Christian decision. All his early home and school training and the faithful preaching to which he was a constant listener prepared him for the course of serious reflection on the defects and inconsistencies of his own character which first led to conviction of sin and then moved him to seek salvation. He at once became a communicant member of the Presbyterian Church.

As was the custom of these strenuous times, his work kept him employed from twelve to fourteen hours a day, but he found time in early morning and late evening for prayer and serious meditation, along with the study of Scripture. He also systematically visited the sick and poor. At the age of nineteen he engaged a tutor and began more intensive study, with a view to the Christian ministry. Soon afterwards he felt the call to missionary service and

entered Hoxton Academy—an institution for the training of congregational ministers.

### COUNTING THE COST.

The Chinese have a saying, “The youngest son holds the mother’s heart.” Robert was his mother’s favourite child, and when she saw the direction in which his mind was moving she dreaded the possibility of separation, and opposed his desire to be a foreign missionary. His love for her was such that he promised not to leave home during her lifetime. She died before he began his studies in Hoxton. Another test came to him in his affection for a young lady in Newcastle. His proposal of marriage was turned down because it included the requirement that the lady should be willing to accompany him to China. It was only with great reluctance that his father at last consented to his going abroad. Thus in his own family and closest friendship there was, in spite of the sincerest piety, the opposition to foreign mission service which reflected the ordinary Christian attitude of that period. His teachers in the Congregational Academy urged on him the difficulties of mission work and the special qualifications which would make him useful as a minister in his own country. He received an offer of further education in one of the Scottish universities. But in spite of all these contrary voices young Morrison remained fixed in his missionary purpose and sent his application to the London Missionary Society. When accepted as a candidate he continued his studies in the Society’s academy at Gosport.

### BEGINNING CHINESE.

When his sphere of work was discussed there was a proposal, which he himself favoured, that he should be sent to Africa. He expressed the desire that God would place him in that part of the missionary field where the difficulties were the greatest

and to all human appearance the most insurmountable. When finally appointed to China he most heartily acquiesced in the decision. He never doubted that his was a divine commission. The primary object of the new mission projected in China was the translation of the Scriptures, and Morrison was instructed to prepare himself for that task. It was feared that the time had not yet come when preaching or teaching would be possible in China. Mention has been made of the Chinese manuscript in the British Museum, the work of an unknown Jesuit missionary. A Cantonese was found in London named Yung Sam Tak, who was willing to teach Morrison how to write the Chinese characters. But the teacher angrily refused to continue the lessons when the pupil threw some scraps of paper on which he had written into the fire. It was only after repeated apologies and requests for forgiveness that Yung consented to carry on. This was the young missionary's first insight into the Chinese scholar's reverence for the written symbols and his proud contempt for foreign ignorance. After that experience Morrison procured some sheets of tin on which they could write the lessons and afterwards wipe them clean with a cloth. When he had learned to write the strokes in their right order and shape he began transcribing the manuscript in the British Museum. This contained a harmony of the gospels, Acts, and all the Pauline epistles. The Epistle to the Hebrews was not included. He also copied a Latin-Chinese dictionary belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. In three months he had completed his task. He also took special courses in medicine and astronomy, considering these two subjects would be most useful in China. For the latter he had historic precedent, because the Jesuit missionaries had first secured a footing in Peking through their knowledge of mathematics and their usefulness in the astronomical department of the Government.

## BRITISH HOSTILITY AND AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP.

The first intention of the society was to send the young missionary by Madras to Malacca, where he should leave his luggage and pay a visit to Canton. If he found residence there possible he was to send for his luggage, but if not he would return to Malacca and endeavour to learn the language among the thousands of Chinese resident at that port. But the East India Company had decided as a matter of business policy to discourage Christian missionaries in India and China, and they refused to give the missionary a passage on any of their ships. So he had to travel by way of New York, where he was warmly welcomed by American Christians. The story of his interview with the shipowners there has often been told. When the matter of a passage had been arranged the shipowner, with a sardonic grin, said, "And so, Mr Morrison, you really expect that you will make an impression on the idolatry of the great Chinese Empire?" to which the missionary replied, "No, sir, *I expect God will.*"

When he sailed he carried with him a letter from the American Secretary of State to the Consul at Canton, asking him to do all that he could, consistent with the interests of his country, to further the British missionary's designs. Coming at a time when feeling was extremely acute between the British and United States Governments, the gesture of friendship does credit to America. That year (1807) the United States had introduced an embargo on foreign commerce, with the purpose of forcing Britain to change her policy, which forbade American trade with any country from whose ports ships flying the British flag were excluded. As Britain was more or less constantly in a state of war with France and other European Powers, this restriction threatened a severe blow to American commerce. A glimpse into the

unsettled international situation is afforded when we read that Morrison's ship—the Trident—was held up and searched in the Indian Ocean by a man-of-war which flew the British flag, but which later ran up its true ensign—the French. Morrison, the one British passenger, was afraid he might be carried off as a prisoner of war, and was greatly relieved when the French officers allowed the ship to proceed.

### A DOUBTFUL WELCOME.

The missionary landed first at Macao, the port of the small Portuguese colony some eighty miles from Canton. Here he presented a letter of introduction to a British merchant. The merchant said he wished him success with all his soul, but that the people who sent him had no idea of the difficulty of securing residence either in Macao or Canton. The Chinese were prohibited from teaching foreigners the language under penalty of death. The jealousy of the Roman Catholic authorities would make trouble for a Protestant missionary in Macao. On Sunday, September 7, 1807, the Trident anchored at Whampoa, and he travelled in a small boat the remaining ten miles to Canton, arriving at his destination at 8 o'clock in the evening. He wrote in his journal next morning: "The good hand of God has at length brought me to the place of my appointed labours." He waited on the chief of the American factory and presented the letter from the Secretary of State. He was offered a temporary residence in the Consul's own house. He also received a like invitation from the two American merchants who were agents for the ship by which he had travelled, and this he accepted as furnishing less conspicuous quarters. Other members of the foreign community—both American and British—were by no means pleased at the arrival of a missionary. As a resident in the business quarters of Americans, Morrison was considered by the Chinese

in the area to be an American citizen, and they were not enlightened on this point.

### THE FOREIGNER AT CANTON.

To understand the pioneer missionary's position it will be well to give a brief description of the foreign factories at Canton. A visitor to that city to-day—with its broad bund crowded all day and far into the night with motor traffic, rickshaws, and pedestrians; its fine Customs House and Post Office; the eight-storied building and tower housing the hotel and department store of the Sun Company; a number of banks; and the wharves of several river steamer companies—could never imagine what the same site looked like over a hundred years ago, or even, for that matter, twenty years ago. The foreign factories occupied about 800ft frontage on the river shore, and behind a strip of vacant ground in front the buildings ran back to a depth of about 500ft. This area was intersected by two streets of Chinese shops, one of them fittingly known as Hog lane. Here were the places which provided cheap liquor and other doubtful attractions for the foreign sailors visiting the port, and it was the scene of many a disgusting spectacle which did nothing to enhance Chinese opinion of the visitors from abroad. At the East end was the canal which supplied the water to the moat encircling the city wall, and on its farther shore were shops and offices occupied by the Chinese merchants who owned the foreign factories, and who guaranteed the good behaviour of the foreign merchants to the Chinese Government. The buildings were known as “factories” because they were the residence of the factors or supercargoes who carried on the trade. No foreign women were allowed entrance, and the introduction of arms was also strictly prohibited. The community suffered all sorts of humiliating and vexatious restrictions owing to the suspicious fear and arrogant pride of the Chinese

authorities. The location was most unhealthy, liable to be flooded during the heavy rains of summer and by high tides. Three days in each month the residents were allowed to cross the river under escort and take a walk in the gardens at Fati. For some months annually all had to vacate Canton for Macao. Servants could only be engaged through the Chinese head merchants, and these were withdrawn whenever the authorities wished to bring pressure to bear upon the foreigners. Another effective method was to cut off their supply of food.

Some weeks after Morrison arrived Sir George Staunton, an English Christian gentleman who had spent many years in the East and was an authority in matters Chinese, came to Canton. He welcomed the missionary and introduced him to the chief of the English factory. Sir George also secured for him a Roman Catholic Chinese from Peking as a teacher in the Mandarin dialect. Morrison immediately began translating the copy of the manuscript Latin-Chinese dictionary he had brought with him from London, adding to it new characters from the thirty-two-volume Chinese dictionary published under the direction of the second Manchu Emperor Kang Hsi and known by his name. His Chinese assistants lived in constant fear of detection and torture, and one of them always carried poison with him, as he preferred suicide to the punishment which might follow if he were discovered.

### OVER-ZEALOUS.

Towards the close of the year Morrison left his more comfortable quarters with the American merchants and rented two small rooms in the basement of one of the foreign stores. He was finding it almost impossible to live on the small salary provided by the Society. In these rooms he studied, ate, and slept, adopting the Chinese dress and taking his meals with his Chinese writer. He even let his fingernails grow

long, as was the custom of scholars, and attempted to grow a queue. He used an earthenware lamp, burning peanut oil, with a volume of Matthew Henry's "Commentary" set up on edge to prevent the wind blowing out the light. Such restricted surroundings, with no possibility of exercise, unsuitable diet, absence of congenial society, and constant dread of detection soon told on his health. He had to move to better rooms in the French factory, secured through the kind interest of a British merchant, and there he stayed, continuing his studies, until ill-health forced him to leave for Macao at the beginning of June.

Morrison's work on the preparation of a dictionary in English and Chinese was by this time known to the foreign community, and when he reached Macao he was given the free use of a house belonging to a British merchant. But for the friendly interposition of the Superintendent of British Trade he would have been ejected by the Roman Catholics. His Chinese assistants accompanied him to Macao, and he continued his translation. In August his health was so improved by the better climate and regular exercise that he returned to Canton. Just at this time Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, having heard of French designs on the East and being afraid they might occupy Macao and thus hinder British trade with China, sent a squadron of ships with an armed force to protect the port. This action naturally scared the Chinese Government, and the favourite weapon of retaliation—the anti-British boycott—was set in motion at Canton. The missionary, along with all other British residents, was forced to take refuge in Macao.

### COMPENSATIONS.

Back in the Portuguese town he found Roman Catholic opposition still more evident, and they secured an order depriving him of the service of Chinese language teachers. Amid his many trials



he was specially pained because friends at home seemed to have forgotten him. To one he wrote: "I yesterday received your very welcome letter. It is but the second I have received after having written at least two hundred." He found comfort in his loneliness and difficulties, however, by his meeting with Mary Morton, the daughter of an English doctor stationed at Macao. As one of his biographers remarks: "He wooed his bride with a curb-bit on his affections." In his diary he writes: "I spent the evening with Mr Morton and family. By not applying to my studies my mind is uncomfortable, so desirous am I to acquire the language." And again: "I spent the evening with the family of the Mortons. Scarcely so devoted as I ought to be." He does not say here whether he failed in devotion to the language or to Mary Morton. The wedding was not long delayed, because the bride's parents were leaving for Home. On the day of his marriage Morrison received the offer of an appointment as Chinese translator for the East India Company at a salary of £500 per annum. Coming less than eighteen months after his arrival in China, this was a high tribute to his ability as a student of the language. The offer came just when residence at either Canton or Macao seemed to have become impossible, and he was planning removal to Penang or some other centre in Malay. The position, which he gladly accepted, gave him the official standing in the community and in the eyes of the Chinese without which he could not have continued his work in China. It also provided the financial support necessary to the maintaining of two households—one at Canton, where his work kept him half of each year, and the other at Macao, where his wife had to reside. And yet there were Christians in England who so misjudged the situation as to speak of Morrison as a deserter. When appointed he had already prepared a Chinese vocabulary for

beginners in the study of the language and had made considerable progress with his grammar and dictionary. He had also begun the translation of the New Testament.

### KNOCKING AT A CLOSED DOOR.

After Morrison had been in China for six years he was joined by the Rev. William and Mrs Milne, from Scotland. They arrived at Macao on a Sunday morning just when Mr and Mrs Morrison were about to have a family celebration of the Lord's Supper. There was great excitement in both the Portuguese and British communities when it was known the missionaries had landed, and a general feeling of hostility. The Portuguese Governor sent for Mr Morrison and expressed his displeasure, saying that Milne must leave the colony within eight days. He was persuaded to lengthen this period to eighteen days. Milne went secretly to Canton, leaving his wife with the Morrises, and found a room in the factories, far from comfortable, where he might live and study the language. A year or so before Milne's coming the Chinese Government had issued the following edict, which was translated by Morrison: "The Criminal Tribunal, by order of the Emperor, conformable to a representation made by Han, the Imperial Secretary, decrees as follows:—The Europeans worship God because in their own country they are used so to do, and it is quite unnecessary to inquire into the motive. But, then, why do they disturb the common people of the interior, appointing unauthorisedly priests and other functionaries who spread this all through the provinces in obvious infraction of the law? The common people are deceived by them, and they succeed each other from generation to generation, unwilling to depart from their delusion. This may approach very near to being a rebellion. Reflecting that the said religion neither holds spirits in veneration nor ancestors in reverence, it is clearly seen that

such conduct is contrary to sound doctrine. In what respect do the common people who follow and familiarise themselves with such delusions differ from a rebel mob? If some punishment is not decreed, how shall the evil be eradicated and how shall the hearts of men be rectified? From this time forward such Europeans as shall privately print books and appoint preachers in order to pervert the multitude and the Tartars and Chinese who, deputed by Europeans, shall propagate their religion, bestowing names (i.e., baptising) and disquieting the people, shall be dealt with in the following way:—The chief or principal one shall be executed. Those who spread their religion without making much disturbance to the few and without giving names shall be imprisoned to await the time of execution. Those who shall content themselves with following such religion and are unwilling to recant shall be exiled to Northern Manchuria. As for Tartars, they shall be deprived of their pensions. With respect to Europeans at present in Peking, if they are mathematicians, without having other office or occupation, they may be continued in the employment. But those who do not understand mathematics, what motive is there for asquiescing in their idleness whilst they are exciting irregularities? Let the mandarins in charge of the Europeans inquire and act. Excepting the mathematicians who are retained in their employment, all other Europeans shall be sent to Canton to await the arrival of ships from their respective countries, when they shall be sent back. The Europeans in actual service at the capital are forbidden to meddle with the Tartars and Chinese, so that the absurdities which have been propagated may be cut off at the root. In Peking, when there are only Europeans employed in mathematics, none will be able to clandestinely spread false religion. The viceroys and the magistrates in the other provinces will be careful and diligent. If they find Europeans

within their territory they shall arrest them and deal with them according to justice, so that this evil may be destroyed root and branch. You must conform to this decision of the Criminal Tribunal." The above decree is quite evidently aimed at the Roman Catholic missionaries and their assistants and converts, but a Protestant missionary such as Milne would be considered as within its scope, and, unless he was extremely cautious, Morrison himself would be in serious danger.

Some months later it was decided that Milne should take a trip to Java and a number of the Malay ports to see whether a suitable centre for the mission work might be secured in some place where there was a large Chinese community. Morrison had by this time completed his translation of the New Testament, and when Milne sailed he took with him 2000 copies for distribution, also 10,000 tracts and 5000 copies of a catechism.

### FIRSTFRUITS.

While Milne was absent on this survey the pioneer had the great joy of baptising the first convert. This was a young man named Ts'oi A-ko, who had been engaged by Morrison for some time as an assistant, and had been under Christian instruction ever since his arrival in China. He was baptised at a quiet spot by the seashore at Macao, beside a spring of water. During my early years in China Macao was still a summer resort for residents at Canton and in the interior, and I have attended open-air gatherings at the traditional site where A-ko was received. To the record in his diary Morrison appended the prayer, "May he be the firstfruits of a great harvest, one of millions who shall believe and be saved from the wrath to come." In spite of much opposition, this man adhered to his profession of faith until his death in 1819. A Chinese Church at Macao has been dedicated to his memory.

As a result of Milne's visit to Java, Malacca, Penang, and other places in the East Indies, it was decided that Malacca should be the new base for the mission. It was near to China and also central for all the islands in the Eastern Archipelago, where there were large Chinese communities. It was on the main route between India and China. The climate was healthy, and the Government authorities favourable to mission work. Mr and Mrs Milne left for Malacca in April, 1815, and from the time of their arrival until Hongkong was ceded to Britain in 1843 this port was the central station of the London Missionary Society in the East.

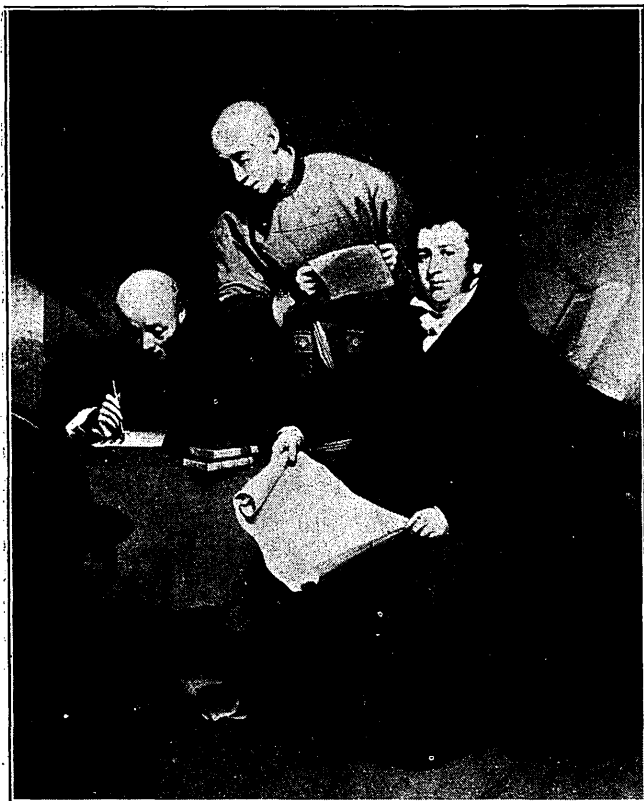
### A HEARTENING RETROSPECT.

On the tenth anniversary of his arrival in China Morrison reviewed the work accomplished. In spite of many and great obstacles, more had been attained than was at first hoped for. The primary object had been the learning of the language and the translation of the Scriptures. The pioneer had not only mastered the spoken and written language, but had also gathered a fund of knowledge and experience regarding the people and their country. The New Testament had been translated and widely circulated, and it was expected, with the help of Mr Milne, to complete the Old Testament the following year. Textbooks had been prepared to assist foreign students in the study of Chinese. Tracts had been written and printed, including a translation of morning and evening prayers in the Church of England Book of Common Prayer, also the Shorter Catechism. A selection of metrical psalms and hymns had also been translated. The station at Malacca had been successfully established, and from the press there a steady stream of Christian literature had commenced to flow. Best of all, two converts had been baptised—Ts'oi A-ko by Morrison at Macao and Liang A-fa by Milne at Malacca. The University of Glas-

gow marked his completion of a decade of such outstanding service by creating Morrison a Doctor of Divinity.

### THE CHRISTLESS CROSS.

Mrs Morrison was in delicate health at the time of her marriage, and the trials arising from her continued weakness were very hard on both, specially as they had to be separated for the greater part of each year. In 1815 she was forced to leave for Eng-



Portrait by Chinnery (1829) of Robert Morrison and two Chinese assistants. Dr Morrison is wearing the D. D. gown of Glasgow University, and on the table are the volumes of his Anglo-Chinese Dictionary (upright) and the Scriptures in Chinese (lying).

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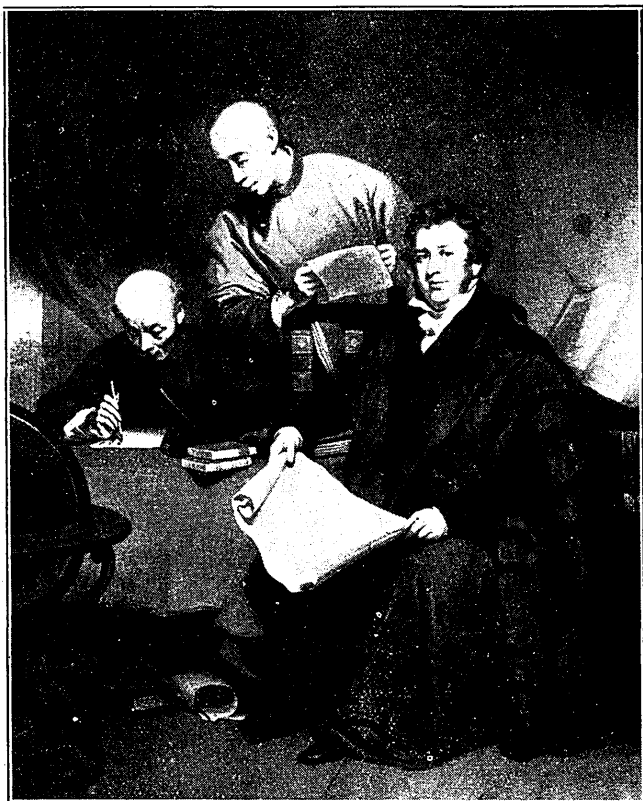
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land with her two little children. Five and a-half years passed before the family was reunited, Mrs. Morrison having greatly benefited by the change. But the following year she suddenly became ill just before anticipated childbirth, and two days later she died. Death on the mission field has often related circumstances which aggravate the grief of the bereaved. In a land like China, and specially in earlier years, it was quite impossible to have the decorous arrangements made for a funeral such as are common in a land like ours. On the occasion of Mrs Morrison's death the situation was tragic in the extreme. The husband wished to bury his wife at the spot on the hills outside Macao where their firstborn infant son had been laid. But the Chinese who owned the cemetery refused permission. Then the Roman Catholics were approached regarding their burial ground. They would not allow the interment of a Protestant in consecrated soil. There seemed to be nothing left for Dr Morrison but to bury his dead in a plot available for the bodies of beggars and executed criminals under the town walls. British merchants heard of his sad predicament and immediately purchased a piece of ground for £1000 as a Protestant cemetery, and there Mrs Morrison was buried.

Not far from this cemetery, on the seashore, are the ruins of an old Roman Catholic cathedral. The massive wall of the building's front still stands, and on its lofty summit a great iron cross. Sir John Bowring, British Consul at Hongkong from 1849 to 1853 and later Governor of the Colony, is said to have been inspired by this sight to write the well-known hymn—

In the Cross of Christ I glory,  
Towering o'er the wrecks of Time.

But that cross looked down on many things that were contrary to its spirit. Under the shadow of that cross were long rows of iron-barred barracks, where at one time Chinese carried away from their village homes by the Portuguese were imprisoned until sold.

as slaves in adjacent lands. Beneath that cross there was no shelter for the Protestant missionary, William Milne, and nothing but hate and suspicion for Robert Morrison. And now, when the missionary's wife had died, the cross of Roman Catholicism refused her a place of burial under its sway. To-day that iron cross still towers over the wrecks of time, but it towers too over the beautiful but wicked town known as the "Monte Carlo of the East."

### THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE.

The bereaved missionary left his daughter Rebecca with a friend in Macao while he took his son John with him to Canton. He had great hopes for his son. He wrote: "My son John, if God spares us both, I mean to bring up as a Chinese scholar, and pray and hope that his heart may be influenced by the God of the spirits of all flesh to become a preacher of Christ's Gospel to the Chinese." A year later the children were sent to England. About the same time William Milne died at Malacca. This was another sad blow to Morrison. It left the station at Malacca, with its printing press and Anglo-Chinese College, without a head. Into the college Morrison had put much careful planning, and had also helped liberally with his money. It had a broad basis for the reciprocal exchange of culture between the East and the West. Morrison wished to go home with his children, but felt the crisis needed his personal presence at Malacca. He spent some months there putting things in order, and then returned to Macao. While at Malacca he placed on record his ideal for the workers that should join the mission: "What we require in all the members of the missionary community is unfeigned piety, humility, education or skill in their several departments, good common sense, good tempers, sincere love to the Saviour, and a desire to promote the glory of God in the salvation of men, and that they subordinate all their personal

and domestic concerns to the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ amongst the heathen.”

### FURLOUGH.

Having completed over 16 years on the field, Dr Morrison left for England in December, 1823. Before sailing he ordained Liang A-fa to the office of evangelist, so that the field might not be left without a worker during his absence. He also published his monumental Anglo-Chinese dictionary, on which he had been engaged ever since his arrival in China. It was published by the East India Company at a cost of £12,000. It contained 4595 pages, and recorded 40,000 Chinese characters with their English meanings. This work, along with his translation of the Bible, gained for him universal fame. He was embarrassed to find how much his services were appreciated. He was presented to his Majesty George IV, to whom he gave a copy of his translation of the Bible. Requests to speak came from all quarters, and wherever he went he was greeted with overflowing enthusiasm. Besides visiting Scotland and Ireland, as well as all parts of England, he went to Paris, where he was the honoured guest of a number of scientific societies. Sir Walter Scott invited the missionary to visit him at Abbotsford, but this, with many other invitations, he was unable to accept. As it was he undertook so much that he suffered from a severe illness. At the request of the directors of the London Missionary Society he postponed his return for a year that he might carry into effect his plan for a language institution where missionary students and others could be trained in the language of the field to which they were designated. Thirteen students were given a three-months' course in Chinese by Dr Morrison. The institution proved to be ahead of its time, but it was an interesting experiment, and the forerunner of many similar projects.

Morrison's family—he had married again while in England—accompanied him on his return to China. He found his house and furniture at Macao so dilapidated that the house had to be practically rebuilt and the furnishing renewed. His library also had been ruined by white ants and other insects. But all these troubles were forgotten when he met Liang A-fa and heard his report of the work during the missionary's long absence. They knelt together in prayer, and Morrison thanked God and took courage.

### CHINESE-AMERICAN-BRITISH PARTNER-SHIP.

Quite early in his residence at Canton Morrison felt it might be easier for American citizens to commence and carry on mission work there than for British representatives. The missionary can never get away, even if he wished, from his nationality, and Morrison felt, judging by his own experience, that there was less in the foreign contacts of the United States to prejudice the message than in the case of his own nation. Many years before the British missionary had written to his board in London that it might be possible and wise for the Society to engage and associate members of the mission from America. But hitherto there had been no response to his repeated appeals. In 1829, however, the American Board Mission appointed two missionaries to China, who arrived at Canton early in 1830. One was the Rev. D. Abeel, who came as seamen's missionary to the American sailors on the ships anchored at Whampoa. The other was the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, sent to work with Dr Morrison among the Chinese at Canton. Soon after their arrival Dr Morrison invited them to his house in the factories to meet Liang A-fa. Before they separated Mr Liang read from the Scriptures in Chinese a portion of the tenth chapter of Luke and spoke briefly from the second verse—"The harvest is plenteous, but

the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest." Then all knelt while Mr Liang led in appropriate and earnest prayer, which Dr Morrison translated into English before they rose from their knees. Thus was begun the Chinese-American-British partnership in prayer and service for China which has continued for more than a century.

### RICE CHRISTIANS!

At the beginning of the same year Morrison baptised one of his printers, Kew A-gong, who had long been under Christian instruction both at Malacca and Macao. Recently a British consular official in China said to me that all Morrison's converts were his own employees, insinuating that they professed Christianity to keep their jobs. In other words, they were "rice Christians." That was an insinuation which only a person ignorant of early mission history in China would make. He was probably repeating what he had often heard without examining into the facts. It is true that Morrison baptised very few converts, probably only three or four, and that two of these had been in his own and another in mission employment. But Ts'oi A-ko, the first, was baptised after he had ceased to work for the missionary, and he remained faithful until death. The second, Kew A-gong, proved his sincerity by enduring many things for the Gospel's sake, and giving the rest of his life—which continued long after Morrison's death—to Christ's service. A third was a teacher of Mandarin in the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca who was on a visit to Canton. Morrison influenced his employees most because they were under constant Christian instruction, and were in intimate touch with the missionary himself. After baptising the Mandarin teacher at the end of 1832, the pioneer wrote: "There is now in Canton a state of society in respect of Chinese totally different from

what I found it in 1807. Chinese scholars, missionary students, English presses, and Chinese Scriptures, with public worship of God, have all grown up since that period. I have served my generation, and must—the Lord knows when—fall asleep.”

A year later Mrs Morrison, who was in poor health, left for England with the younger children. He felt the parting and separation most keenly. After a few months of loneliness he writes: “The sight of the children’s chairs, etc., make me very sad. My beloved children! Oh, when shall I again hear your prayers and kiss your cheeks! My aching head! my aching head! Oh, God, be merciful to me.”

### “SAFE INTO THE HAVEN.”

The British Government terminated the charter of the East India Company in 1833, and Lord Napier was made Chief Superintendent of Trade. When he arrived at Macao Dr Morrison was appointed his Chinese secretary and interpreter. In connection with the new and extremely arduous duties of this office, he spent his last days at Canton in July, 1834. Before leaving Macao he was asked by Lady Napier to conduct a Sunday service in the company’s chapel there. He had prepared a sermon on the text, “In my Father’s house are many mansions,” and wrote to his wife, “I trust we are of the family of God, and so have a rich inheritance and a home to look to after our pilgrimage is terminated and our warfare accomplished. Jesus will come again and take us to Himself, and we shall be ever with the Lord and in the best society. Comfort thyself with these words.” He was not allowed to preach the sermon, as some narrow-minded sectarian decided no service was preferable to one taken by a man who was not considered as regularly ordained. But on his last Sunday evening in Canton he conducted worship with his Chinese congregation at his own house. He noted that the gathering was larger than

any he had hitherto had. They sang the hymn he had just recently translated, little dreaming how appropriate were its opening lines—

Jesus, lover of my soul,  
Let me to Thy bosom fly,  
While the nearer waters roll,  
While the tempest still is nigh;  
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide  
Till the storm of life is past;  
Safe into the haven guide,  
O receive my soul at last.

An old writer, who had worked with him ever since his arrival in China, cheered the missionary with the news that at long last he had accepted Christ as his Saviour. Morrison was already in a state of enfeebled health, and the humid heat of the Canton midsummer aggravated his trouble. He carried on his duties until he literally died at his post at 10 o'clock on the evening of the first day of August, 1834. The body was taken to Macao and laid to rest beside the grave of his first wife.

### TRIBUTES.

Mr Marshall Broomhall, in his biography, says of Robert Morrison: "He was of the solid type, without veneer, unfitted for 'parlour preaching,' to use his own phrase. But he had no little sagacity and insight, and his writings are a mine of wise sayings upon many practical missionary matters, not out of date to-day. He had the ability to see both sides, to be impartial to friend or foe, and power to work and wait until he had won through. He was humble yet bold, zealous yet prudent, broad-minded but never shallow, courageous but not obtrusive, eminently sane and judicious, with a wholehearted devotion to Christ."

Sir Robert Hart, who served China so many years at the head of her Customs administration, wrote of him in 1907: "We little think to-day, we far from realise among our present advantages, what

discouragement faced the newcomer a hundred years ago, and what to succeed then meant in terms of courage, ingenuity, persistence, and hoping against hope. And it was in the midst of all that tended to kill effort and bring in despair that Morrison began, endured, and triumphed. It is not in war alone that the heroic is to be met with; in every walk of life are heroes to be found; and there is often truer material for the epic singer, even in everyday life, than is to be found in the fierce light that centres around thrones and dazzles the eye of the too daring gazer. So it was with Morrison. His was the soul of a hero. Discouragement transformed the iron of his nature into steel, and difficulty inspired the ingenuity that won."

Dr T. W. Pearce, the veteran L.M.S. missionary of South China, wrote in the same centenary year: "To judge of Morrison as a missionary, his secret must be known. He saw the Gospel from within. Flesh and blood had not revealed it unto him. It was not by the will of man that the Scriptures came through him to the Chinese. In this sacred service he was moved by the Holy Ghost. His many plans for uttering God's redeeming love in China were marked by a skill and wisdom worthy of his object. They were carried out with a courage and faith that rendered him steadfast and constant in the pursuit of this end. His aims were clear, his method certain. From the sum total of his mission service arises a large claim on the glad and grateful memory of all who to-day are seeking to extend the Kingdom of God."

**"LET EACH MAN TAKE HEED HOW HE  
BUILDETH THEREON."**

The foundation of the Protestant Church in China was laid by this master builder, who handed on his task to others just one hundred years ago. It was well and truly laid upon the Rock. Throughout the years of this twentieth century our Presby-



terian Church of New Zealand has taken its small share in raising the superstructure. Surely it should be a salutary discipline to test the workmanship of to-day by the high standards set in the life and work of Robert Morrison. All of the churches and societies might well re-think missions in the light of the pioneer's torch. If we have read his mind aright, what would please him most in the present situation would be the closer unity and co-operation among Christians in China, the wide door open to the message of life, and the rapid taking over of responsibility by the Chinese Church. That last development was foreshadowed when, on his leaving the field for furlough and again when he finally fell asleep at Canton, he entrusted the preaching of the evangel and the care of the little church to his Chinese colleague, Liang A-fa.

### GRANITE AND GRACE.

The Rev. Wm. Milne, who was Robert Morrison's first colleague in the China Mission, gave only nine years to that service, and died at the early age of thirty-seven. The circumstances of his arrival have been mentioned in the sketch of Morrison's life. He came from a district in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, where interest in world evangelism was so keen that conversion was spoken of as "turning missionary." When he first appeared before the Aberdeen Committee of the London Missionary Society his rustic appearance led the members to think he would be unsuited as a missionary to a people of cultured manners like the Chinese. One suggested he might still be sent as a mechanic. To this Milne replied, "Anything! anything! if only engaged in the work. I am willing to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water in the temple of my God." Later he was asked to lead in prayer, and his prayer persuaded them there was more in him than appeared on the

surface, and they sent him back to the sheep farm to "reconsider his designs."

He has earned the gratitude of the Church for his help in the translation of the Old Testament into Chinese, and it was for this service that he was honoured with the D.D. degree by Glasgow University. His share was the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah and Job. His ability in mastering the Chinese language was such that during his brief stay in Canton he had prepared a short "Life of Christ" which, after correction by Morrison, was published. Another publication of his that will never be forgotten is the tract "A Conversation Between Two Friends." If the story of its influence could be written it would chronicle a long list of Chinese readers who through it have found the Saviour.

Perhaps the most outstanding result of Milne's brief life was the winning of the block-cutter Liang A-fa, who, after training by Milne and Morrison, was ordained by the latter as the first Chinese Protestant evangelist. Dr Morrison wrote of his colleague: "A more zealous evangelist never existed. Few ever excelled him in piety and devotedness."

## FIRST CHINESE PREACHER.

Liang A-fa became a most earnest and capable worker in connection with the mission. He laboured in and around Canton, in Malacca, Singapore, and Hongkong. Like his missionary friends he was a strong believer in the value of Christian literature. The first tract he prepared was for distribution among his clansmen in his country village. This drew upon him the wrath of the Chinese authorities, and he was arrested and beaten until the blood flowed. The effect of this happening on his own mind he records in the words, "I dared not turn my back on Jesus Christ." His desire to reach the literati and

thus influence the future leaders of the country led him to prepare tracts which he distributed at the examination halls where candidates gathered to sit for their degrees. This bold venture—at that time his offence was considered as deserving capital punishment—almost cost him his life. It was only by fleeing to the Straits Settlements that he escaped arrest. But one of the packets of tracts distributed had been placed in the hands of Hung Siu-tsuen, who later became the leader of the Taeping rebellion. Through reading the tracts he professed faith in Christianity and set out on his campaign against idolatry and the Manchu dynasty. The attempt ended disastrously for the whole nation, but in its initial stages the Christian profession of its leader and its use of Christian literature awakened high hopes throughout the Christian world for the early evangelising of China.

During the last ten years of his life, Liang A-fa was evangelist in mission hospitals at Canton. He died in 1855. As the only son did not follow in his father's footsteps, this first Chinese evangelist was forgotten by the Chinese when his missionary colleagues either died or left the field. It is only in recent years that his memory has been honoured and his story recovered for the Chinese Church by the publication of his biography in Chinese and English.

### AMERICA'S ENTRANCE.

The coming of the Rev. E. C. Bridgman from the United States in 1830 has already been mentioned. He laboured in China for thirty-one years, first at Canton and later in Shanghai. He gave valuable help in the revision of the Chinese version of the Scriptures. During his early years at Canton he took Liang A-fa's son—A-teh—into his home and taught him English. He also instructed him in Hebrew and Greek so that he might be fitted for Bible translation. The young man later entered

Chinese official service and was lost to the Christian cause. He was instrumental, however, in helping the Chinese Government to understand better the real nature of the Christian religion, and assisted in the drawing up of treaties between China and foreign Powers.

### A CENTURY OF HEALING.

Another outstanding American pioneer was Dr Peter Parker, the doctor who is said to have "opened China with the point of his lancet." He arrived in China on October 26, 1834, just three months after Morrison's death. His hospital at Canton was opened on November 4 of the following year. This hospital, which was the first in the Far East, still carries on its beneficent ministry. In a book written by an English surgeon who visited Canton in 1836-37 there is a piquant description of the hospital and its work as they appeared to a medical visitor in those early days. He says he found nothing more interesting in China, and goes on: "The introduction of any new religion into the Celestial Empire is now prohibited under the severest penalties, and any person discovered, even at Canton, propagating novelties would be immediately dismissed from the country. Under these unfavourable circumstances the greatest caution and secrecy are required, and it must be evident that the American Missionary Society has taken a very wise course to fulfil its purpose. Instead of increasing the hatred and prejudices which the Chinese already entertain towards the 'foreign devils' by an open disregard and opposition to the laws of the land they have proposed first to ensure the good opinion of the people by their disinterestedness and superior knowledge, and thus gradually to unfold their ultimate intention when the minds of the people are prepared.

"The missionary chosen by the American Society has been educated for the purpose—as a surgeon and a divine. In this double capacity he left

his country, bade adieu to his family and friends, under the express understanding that he would see them no more. His services are given gratuitously, and he evinces all the appearance of disinterestedness as he receives no salary whatever, nor is he allowed to accept a fee from his patients. Dr Parker is a man about forty years of age, is a very good surgeon, and appears to possess all the information which is required for his delicate office.

“It would be difficult to find a more pleasing sight than that which you may enjoy by walking into the receiving room of the hospital at Canton on any of the mornings when patients are admitted. The whole room is filled with native visitors, and frequently the passages contain many of the more humble suitors.”

On a visit to Britain, Dr Parker awakened a new enthusiasm regarding medical missions, and as one result, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society was formed. Our own pioneer doctors in China and India were trained under this society. The centenary of the hospital founded at Canton by Dr Parker is to be celebrated during the coming year.

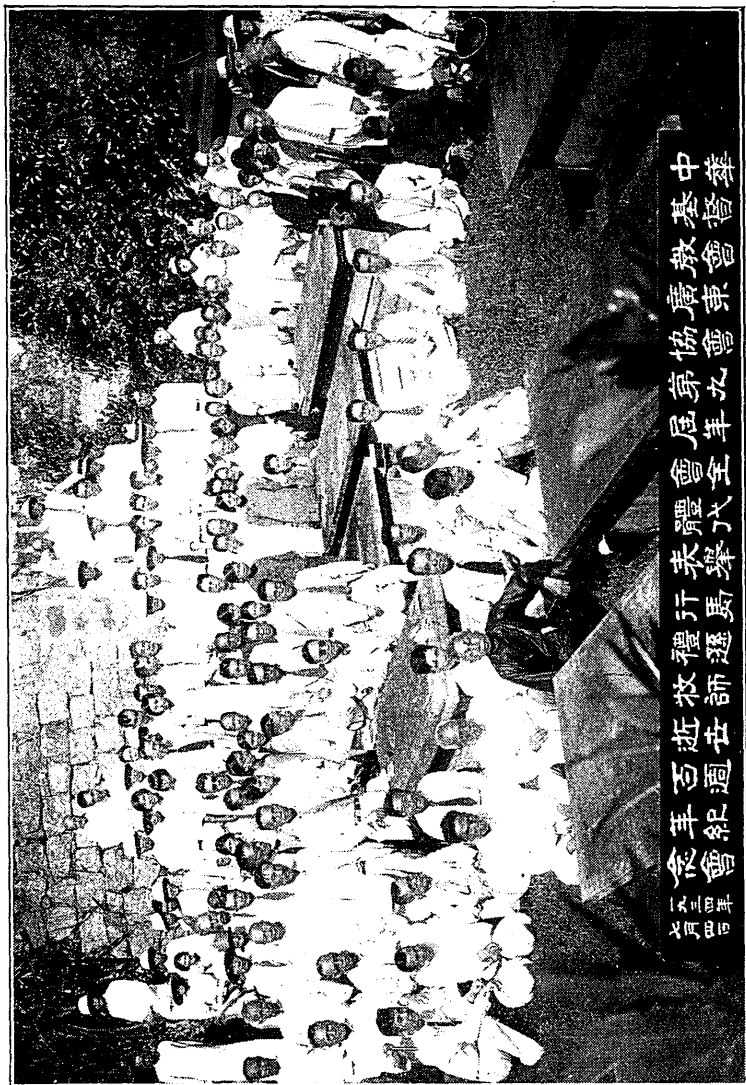
### A GERMAN GIANT.

The first Protestant missionary from the Continent to render conspicuous service in China was Mr Karl Gutzlaff from Germany. He was appointed by the Netherlands Missionary Society to the East Indies, and sent to Batavia in 1827. There he studied Chinese, and in 1830 he made several trips along the China coast to distribute Christian literature. When Hongkong was ceded to Britain Gutzlaff settled there as official interpreter for the Government. His knowledge of many languages, including Malay, various dialects of Chinese, and Japanese, made him an extremely useful man. He continued his missionary activities, and through the articles

sent to the German Christian press and appeals made while visiting his fatherland he brought about a quickening of interest in the evangelising of China. As a result, three societies—the Berlin, Rhenish, and Basel Missions—sent workers to China. It was owing to the fiery challenge of Gutzlaff's appeal that David Livingstone first offered to the London Missionary Society for service in China. The young Scottish doctor was disappointed when he was appointed to Africa, but subsequent history justified the Society's action.

### WELL AND TRULY LAID.

Mission work in China during the pre-treaty years was difficult and dangerous, and seemingly bore little fruit. The Chinese generally had as yet no sense of their need. All honour to the pioneers who suffered and endured for the sake of Christ and the people to whom they were sent. They were master builders who laid a foundation, deep and strong, upon which subsequent generations of Christian workers have been able to build an ever-growing and worthy structure.



中 華 基 督 教 東 南 協 會 第 九 屆 全 體 行 表 禮 拜 週 年 紀 念  
 西 曆 一 九 三 一 年 七 月 四 日 於 馬 六 甲 舉 行

The Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China commemorated the centenary of Dr. Morrison's death by meeting around his grave at Macao on July 4, 1931. The grave is at the back right-hand corner. In the group behind it are Rev. H. and Mrs. Bayles, Misses Oakley, Findlay, and McNeur are also present. The gathering sang "Jesus, Lover of My Soul."

# LECTURE V.

## NATIONALISM AND THE CHINESE CHURCH.

### UNDER SEALED ORDERS.

The development of nationalism in China since the revolution of 1911, greatly speeded up by the new emphasis on racial self-determination which marked the conclusion of the Great War in Europe, was bound to have repercussions on Christianity in China. The introduction of the Christian religion, both by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, had been so intimately related to the aggressive political and economic expansion of the countries from which that religion came, and by whose representatives its institutions were still largely controlled, to escape criticism and attack. Looking back now on the period since the revolution, and remembering specially the fierce attacks made on Christianity between 1920 and 1928, we marvel at the wonderful way in which the Church has been preserved and guided. In this, of course, history has only been repeating itself. Its study convinces us that God has been working through the law of causation. He is building the present and future of His Church on its past. And even what appear from our limited point of view revolutionary changes, prove to have a part in His gradually unfolding plan. Thus we can imitate Dr Adoniram Judson, pioneer missionary to Burmah, who, when asked what the prospects of his work there were, replied: "Fair as the promises of God."

But not a few both at home and on the field have passed through a very severe testing of their faith. At one stage there was a sudden decrease in missionary personnel from which we have not yet recovered. Probably it is not necessary in the pro-





中華基督教會廣東協理會第九屆年會禮行表禮牧師逝世週年紀念會

民國十四年四月

The Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China commemorated the centenary of Dr. Morrison's death by meeting around his grave at Macao on July 4, 1934. The grave is at the back right-hand corner. In the group behind it are Rev. H. and Mrs. Davies. Misses Ogilvie, Findlay, and McNeur are also present. The gathering sang "Jesus, Lover of My Soul."

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vidence of God that Foreign Missions should ever again reach their former numerical strength. In 1926 there were 8,325 Protestant missionaries listed in China. Two years later there were only 3133. The figures for the Kwangtung province were even more startling. That province had a total of 796 missionaries in 1926, while 1928 saw only 262—less than one-third. The neighbouring province of Kwangsi had 94 in the former year and only nine in the latter. It is impossible to describe how serious a dislocation of work these figures represent. That sudden exodus of foreign workers was due, of course, to political conditions, as will be explained later. When these conditions changed again the missionaries gradually returned, until now there are over 6000 on the field. But newspapers heralded the news throughout the world that “the bottom had fallen out of missions in China,” and it was not strange that many missionaries as well as church members at home believed this was true. That the Church in China has been able to weather such a storm and come through it even with marked advantages to itself is proof that the great Head of the Church is still in her midst. We shall try to indicate some of the more evident reasons for such a happy result.

### “ I MUST DECREASE.”

First there was the frank and friendly recognition on the part of most missionaries that the Church in China ought to be Chinese. It was easier, however, to recognise this in principle than to make it effective in the actual working out of mission policy. Of course, the Church was Chinese in its membership, but there was still a query in some quarters regarding leadership. The Church has been passing through four stages. In the first, control was almost completely in the hands of missionaries. When I reached Canton and began to attend the meetings of Church courts I found in them a large majority of

foreign members, and the Chinese present so accustomed to have all questions decided by their missionary friends that they took practically no part in the discussion. As a matter of fact most of the business was transacted by mission councils from which Chinese were excluded. How this state of things rankled in the mind I was hardly aware until recently I heard a Chinese woman teacher, of outstanding ability, who had given forty years of service in a mission boarding school for girls and women, complain that during all that time she had never been asked to attend one of the mission meetings in which the management of this institution was discussed and decided. At the National Conference, held in Shanghai during 1907—the centenary year of Protestant missions in China—the whole personnel was foreign. We met in the new Martyrs' Hall of the Y.M.C.A., but although there were already Chinese Christians who merited at least an equal place with their missionary brethren, the proceedings were in English and the delegates foreign missionaries and visitors from the mission boards overseas. Yet the Chinese martyrs of the Boxer year far outnumbered the missionaries. If Robert Morrison had been able to look in at our meetings I do not think he would have approved.

During the second stage there was increasing co-operation between the missionaries and the Chinese Christians, but the balance of power was still in the hands of the foreigners. In the next National Conference, held at Shanghai in 1913, following the regional conferences chaired by Dr J. R. Mott, two-thirds of the delegates were foreign and one-third Chinese. It was quite evident, both in the regional gatherings and the final central meeting, that there were still many missionaries, specially older ones, who did not think the time had yet come for Chinese control. But the necessity for such a change was one of the points most emphasised in the findings of the conferences. Dr Mott was continually reiterating his

questions regarding the best methods of discovering, enlisting, training, and retaining Chinese leaders. He sensed the weakness of a mission-centred Church.

The third stage, largely through the stimulus of the Mott conferences and the work of the Continuation Committee appointed as a result, brought an ever-enlarging co-operation, with the Chinese gradually taking over a larger share of control. That was most evidenced at the National Conference of 1922, when a thousand delegates met under the chairmanship of Dr C. Y. Cheng, and Chinese priority was recognised. Happenings since, including the Jerusalem Conference, have hastened the advent of the fourth stage, and the Church in China to-day is largely self-governed. This does not mean that missionaries are not wanted or needed, nor does it mean that the Church has reached anything like financial independence.

### THE CALL OF NEED.

Dr Arthur Smith has compared China's national progress to that of a railway train, the various parts of which are travelling at different rates of speed, and his comment was, "Mighty hard on the couplings!" The same difficulty exists in the Church. All the four stages indicated above can be illustrated in different churches in the same area. You can find many examples in and around Canton. Within two months before leaving China last December I attended three functions connected with the opening of new city church buildings. There was another at which I was unable to be present. All of these four churches were being erected with money subscribed by Chinese at home and abroad. Each has its own Chinese pastor, called and paid by its own membership. And the buildings are commodious and well built, with a total seating capacity of two thousand. There are now quite a number of such self-supporting and self-governing churches in Canton. But when one visits

the Seventh Presbytery, which is a district to the north of Canton, in which our own mission has been working for over 30 years, the American Presbyterian Mission for 60 years, and the London Missionary Society for even longer, the situation is entirely different. In spite of all that has been done, there are no self-supporting churches in that area. The strongest centre does not even provide half of the salary of its pastor, and the weaker places can only take care of current chapel expenses without any contribution towards the salary of pastors and preachers. This is mainly due to the low economic standard of church members, of whom there are comparatively few, perhaps one to every two thousand of the population. It has to be confessed, too, that there is little sense of Christian stewardship. In addition, there is a serious lack of local leadership. There are many places in other Presbyteries where conditions are similar—Home Mission stations, where only a beginning is being made in Christian giving, and in close proximity self-sustaining charges. All are united, however, in the Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China. These weaker stations provide the field where foreign co-operation is most needed, both in staff and finance. Then, too, there are districts which for some reason or other have been neglected by the Church. Such is Ko Ming, the native district of the first evangelist Liang A-fa. It is within forty miles of Canton, and has a population of 100,000. But when the Synod sent a deputation, of which I was a member, to find out what was being done we discovered there were only some twenty church members connected with one small and struggling chapel in the whole district. Yet the neighbouring district has many chapels and a large membership.

What is taking place in our own province and in the Synod of the Church of Christ in China is typical of the tendency in other denominations and

in other regions. Whether the work is self-supporting, subsidised to a greater or less extent, or entirely dependent on outside aid it is being increasingly directed by the Chinese Church through its regular courts. On these courts missionary members have equal privileges with their Chinese brethren.

### WEIGHED IN CHINESE SCALES.

Again, the Church in China will be Chinese in its expression of the Christian faith and in its methods of work. We have referred in an earlier lecture to the inevitableness of such modifications of what is traditional in the West, and have pointed out the danger when adaptation was effected through the sacrifice of vital Christian truth. The Nestorian and Jesuit missionaries went too far in adjusting the Christian message so as to make it palatable to the Chinese people. But the other extreme is also dangerous. When Augustine, the missionary to England in the sixth century, asked the Bishop of Rome for guidance regarding his mission in Britain he was told that those customs and ideas which were not contrary to the Christian faith should not be neglected or discarded simply because they were strange or new to the missionaries, but should be adopted or adapted wherever they seemed useful and fitting in the churches which were then growing up in England. And the Church in China must have freedom to express its worship and organisation in a natural and native way. Why should the order of public worship, the manner of preaching, the music and hymnology, the form of government, administrative methods, ecclesiastical architecture and furnishings, etc., be modelled exactly after those familiar to the missionaries from the West? That the missionaries should introduce their own way of expressing and doing things was inevitable, and there were, of course, wide differences between the various denominations. The contribution thus brought may be

the result of generations of Western experience, but it cannot be final for the Chinese. They must be free to borrow and adapt as they see fit under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. They must be allowed freedom for experimentation, because only thus can they test by Chinese Christian standards the varying contributions from the rich history of the Church in other lands and in other times. But such experiment and adaptation is difficult, if not impossible, while missionaries are still in control. Most of us are strong-minded people who like to have things done in what we consider the "right" way.

Mr T. Z. Koo, whom most of you heard when he was in New Zealand, said he found three hindrances to the handing over of control from missions to the Church in China. The first was the attitude adopted by many missionaries that if the Church in China attempted anything different from what was familiar at home it was going on the rocks. The second hindrance was the sense of superiority which prevented missionaries from joyfully accepting a subordinate position under Chinese control. And the third was the idea that right to control and administer must always wait for complete self-support.

### "MEN WHO KNEW WHAT ISRAEL OUGHT TO DO."

The Church in South China has been fortunate in its Chinese leadership during this critical period of national reconstruction. One of the outstanding men was Mr S. C. Leung, universally respected by both missionary community and the Chinese. He was trained as a preacher in the London Missionary Society, and while still a young man was engaged as the pioneer Y.M.C.A. secretary in Canton. When the Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China was formed in 1924 he was elected as its first Moderator. He now holds the post of general secretary of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A., with head-



quarters in Shanghai. Early in 1925 he was asked to address the missionary community of Canton, and he was farsighted enough to bring a message which proved the best possible preparation for the critical period on which we were entering. He pointed out that although the Church in Japan was much younger than that in China, it had a sense of proprietorship and responsibility not yet permitted to the Church in China. The national consciousness of the Chinese people was developing rapidly, and there was a nation-wide desire for an indigenous Church. Then the anti-Christian agitation had placed Chinese Christians in the awkward situation of being unable to deny the criticisms regarding the foreign control of the Church. Mr Leung made the following suggestions:—

1. That missions and missionaries should consider reorganisation, so that henceforth all activities initiated, maintained, and financed by missions should be expressed through the Chinese Church. Missionaries should function as officers of the Chinese Church, and no longer merely as representatives of the Foreign Mission Boards.

2. The Chinese Church should deal with the Mission Boards directly, and not necessarily through the Mission Councils on the field.

3. Determination of policies of work, allocation of Chinese workers and missionaries to fields of service, appropriations of funds contributed in China and abroad, official appeals for help to Mission Boards, and the holding of property in trust for Christian activities should be placed under the complete control of the Chinese Church through its highest ecclesiastical court.

4. Missionaries should have exactly the same standing in the Church as Chinese workers.

Mr Leung closed his stimulating paper with two requirements necessary on the part of missions. The

first was an adventure of faith. He quoted a missionary who said: "I would rather let the Chinese Church make some mistakes and then profit by them than for the missions to make fewer mistakes by which the Chinese could not profit." The second was a new attitude towards finance and workers. He told of a missionary in North China who was asked by another missionary who his boss was. He replied that his boss was Dr ———, naming a Chinese. The other missionary asked in surprise whether he meant to say that he took orders from a Chinese. When assured that was so he said: "If I had to take orders from a Chinese I would pack up and go home at once."

### "THINGS THAT ARE CÆSAR'S."

None of us listening to that address had any idea of the tense political situation which lay just ahead and which helped to hasten the change over advocated by our Chinese brother. If it had not been that missionaries generally were sympathetic with such a proposal the result would have been a tragic impasse. Missionaries, even if they wish, can never dissociate themselves from the actions and attitudes of their own nations. Thus the work they are doing must always suffer, to a certain extent, when relations are strained between the people they are serving and the land from which they come. Away back in 1839, on the eve of the first war between Britain and China, Liang A-fa, at great personal risk, entered the foreign factories area at Canton to plead with young Morrison, representing the British Government, that he would use every means possible to prevent the war. The Chinese evangelist urged that if the British came to fight, his countrymen would be unwilling to receive the Scriptures, nor would they listen to the gospel preached by British missionaries. And with the tide of nationalism at its flood in 1925, during which year Dr Sun died at Peking on March

12 and bequeathed to his followers the unfinished task of the revolution, the national allegiance of the missionary was fraught with many perils for the work to which he had devoted his life.

On May 30 of that year, and thus only a few weeks after Dr Sun's death, British police in the international settlement at Shanghai fired on a mob of Chinese students who attempted to rush a police station in order to release some of their comrades who had been arrested. The students had been holding meetings and distributing literature on the Settlement protesting against the killing of a Chinese workman by a Japanese foreman in one of the mills. For some years the Nationalist Party had been under the guidance of Soviet advisors, and there was already a strong Communist element among the Chinese. The agitators took care that this unfortunate incident was used in inflaming popular feeling against the British. We must confess that British policy had left a good deal of inflammable material along the trail of her past history with China, and that our own nation was not without serious guilt in connection with this and other subsequent incidents. There was, unfortunately, a certain amount of truth in Karakhan's statement: "The Soviet needs no paid propagandists in China. The British imperialistic policy in China forms the best propaganda we could possibly have. To spend money would be foolish; why not let the British do the work!" But the paid Soviet propagandists saw to it that no opportunity of anti-British attack was lost.

### MY FRIEND THE ENEMY.

When this happened in Shanghai, Canton was engaged in a local war between a Yunnanese army that had been garrisoning the city and the Cantonese troops. The Yunnanese were eventually driven out, and there were scenes of slaughter on the streets when soldiers and officers who had discarded their

uniforms, or other Mandarin-speaking Chinese who were suspected of being such, were done to death by the mob. Owing to the fighting and the fear that defeated soldiers or lawless bands might start looting on the foreign concession, French and British marines were stationed there, barbed wire entanglements were put round the section of the concession facing the city, and machine-gun emplacements were constructed. When the Yunnanese were driven out the Cantonese turned their attention to the organising of the anti-British boycott which had already been begun elsewhere as a protest against the Shanghai tragedy.

One Sunday I was called across the river by urgent message to rescue a Mandarin-speaking Chinese Christian who considered his life in danger. In seeking to escape from fancied pursuers he had fallen and sprained his foot and was hiding in a chapel in the city. Owing to a recurrence of fighting just outside the city, when a party of Yunnanese soldiers who did not know their army had been ejected returned from the country, temporary barricades closed the side streets, and I could not reach him. I saw him, however, and promised to come for him the following day. With a companion I entered a church and listened to the sermon, which was punctuated by rifle and machine-gun fire just a short distance away, causing the more timid in the congregation to cast anxious glances towards the open windows. After the sermon the preacher made a long announcement regarding the inauguration of the anti-British boycott. He explained that none would have any dealings with British people either in the way of business or social contacts. When through he announced: "Pastor M'Neur will now pronounce the benediction," which I proceeded to do. The preacher then shook hands most cordially, having forgotten entirely my connection with the nation of which he had been speaking. But the time soon came when such disregard of patriotism became much more difficult.

## THE MATCH AND THE TINDER.

A week later all the Chinese left their employers on the foreign concession. And on Tuesday, June 23, a great procession of labour unions, trade guilds, educational and other institutions paraded the streets of the city as a protest against the Shanghai happening and the continued infringement of China's independence by the holding of concession areas, unequal treaties, foreign control of maritime customs, extraterritorial privileges, and so on. The rear of the long procession was formed by a body of military cadets who carried rifles. When opposite the concession, which is only separated from the city street by a narrow canal, at a given signal the cadets turned and discharged their weapons into Shameen. The fire was immediately returned by the rifles and machine-guns of the British and French marines and the local volunteer defence corps. At such short range it was frightfully effective, and some of the students and civilian spectators were killed or wounded as well as many of the cadets. My own opinion is that the defenders of the concession were wrong in thinking that the shooting was preliminary to an organised attack. It was simply an "incident" in which a group of Nationalist patriots threw away their lives in order to provoke feeling against those whom they had been taught to recognise as China's worst enemies.

In this they were successful. The Chinese Church joined all other patriotic institutions of the city in holding mass meetings and sending telegrams throughout the country condemning imperial terrorism. It was implicitly believed by the Chinese populace that the British had, without any provocation, fired on an innocent procession. The numbers of the slain and wounded were greatly exaggerated in the early reports. One cannot wonder that some Christian leaders were misled. Imagine the situation at the Canton Christian College, for instance,

when the blood-stained garments of a Chinese professor and a student who had been killed that afternoon were brought into the college assembly hall and shown to the students and teachers. Is it any wonder that they cried out for vengeance? Practically all the Protestant missionaries, with the exception of the Germans who had lost all extraterritorial privileges as the result of the war, were immediately ordered by their consular authorities to leave the province for the time being. There was a widespread demand among the Chinese, Christian leaders included, that only such missionaries should be allowed to return as expressed sympathy with the national aspirations of China and condemned the "imperialistic" policy of their own nation.

### ORGANISED ATTACK.

In addition to the violent outburst of national feeling caused by this and similar incidents, the Church was already suffering from the steadily growing influences of the Anti-Christian Movement. This began in its organised form during the conference of the World's Student Christian Federation at Peking early in 1922. The gathering of representatives from all parts of the world in the Chinese capital, and the stimulus this was likely to bring to Christian work among the educated classes of China, alarmed anti-Christian leaders into a mobilisation of such forces as had hitherto operated in isolation. They made use of several popular New Thought magazines circulating widely among students. The articles were written by capable and scholarly men in a very effective style. The main line of argument laboured two points:—

1. That science and religion are incompatible, and that Christianity is an outworn superstition already discarded by thinking people in Europe and America.

2. That Christianity is the tool of imperialistic and economic aggression, the means of oppressing weaker classes and nations, and thus the arch enemy of China's developing nationalism.

Branches of the movement were formed in all the main centres of the Republic, and the local press was used for purposes of propaganda. Quite often the branches were the propaganda department of the Nationalist Party under its Communist leadership. Slogans, posters, pamphlets, and an army of orators were used in the attack. In 1924 Christmas week was set apart as Anti-Christian Week, and hostile demonstrations were made in many places. At Canton church services were interfered with, and in some cases broken up.

### THE RED RAG.

The attack was specially directed against Christian educational institutions. There had been a remarkable growth in attendance at Christian schools during the previous few years. For example, between 1920 and 1924 the enrolment of college students in mission universities had doubled. In 1921 and 1922 an Educational Commission, with experts from Britain and America, had spent some months in visiting most of the chief centres in China and drawing up a comprehensive report and series of recommendations outlining future plans. The report attracted the attention of Government politicians and educators to this system of Christian private schools—often better equipped and more efficient than any other institutions in the same area. The intense nationalism of the day witnessed this development with a fear which was not unmixed with envy. Very soon measures were introduced to bring these schools under the strict supervision of the Government educational authorities, and to reduce to a minimum their foreign and religious character. Sensing the unfriendly attitude of the Soviet-advised Government to these institutions, the Anti-Christian Movement

made them the centre of attack. They were denounced as instruments of cultural aggression, and student agents were placed in the schools with the deliberate purpose of fomenting trouble. Student strikes and even riots became common. Many of the Christian schools had to close. If it had not been for the friendly help of many men and women holding influential positions in national affairs who had themselves been students in Christian schools the results would have been even more serious.

### “ANOTHER KING, ONE JESUS.”

Right in the midst of this period of active opposition something remarkable happened in Canton. In October, 1925, when some of the missionaries had returned to their stations after the enforced exodus in June, a conference of Chinese and missionary leaders was convened at Paak Hok Tung. After a free and frank discussion as to how far the former plan of co-operation between the missions and the Church might wisely be modified, resolutions were unanimously adopted, the spirit of which is expressed in the preamble, which was as follows: “Resolved that this conference and retreat after prayerful consideration of the present-day problems which deeply concern the relationship of the Church and the missions, submits the following as its opinion. In our judgment the time has come when, in the best interests of the Kingdom of Christ and the developing of a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Church, the direction and control of the work hitherto carried on by the missions in Kwangtung, co-operating with the Church of Christ in China, should be committed to the Synod of this Church.”

The first mission to accept the proposals of this conference in their entirety was our own, and at the General Assembly of 1926 this action was ratified in general. A tentative arrangement was entered into for a period of five years, during which all the work



hitherto carried on by the mission, with the exception of its contributions to the Union Theological College and Union Normal School, was placed under the control of the Synod of the Chinese Church. All buildings and property, apart from missionary residences, were lent to the Synod. The members of mission staff were placed under the Synod, and the regular grants for field work—evangelistic, educational, and medical—were sent directly by the Church treasurer in New Zealand to the Church treasurer in China.

### NEW ZEALAND'S GIFT.

The spirit in which this transfer was made greatly impressed the Chinese leaders, and we simply state fact when we say that no mission has had such cordial and intimate relations with the Synod executive officers as our own. We felt that certain principles should be followed which might be stated in outline as follows:—

1. No Foreign Mission should hinder Chinese initiative in the development of the Church. While recognising our stewardship responsibility to the Church in New Zealand and the dependence of its Foreign Missions Committee upon the advice of the Mission Council on the field for the carrying on of the work, we felt the time had come when the Chinese Church should say what ought to be continued and how it should be done. There ought to be direct intercourse between the Church in New Zealand and the Church in China without necessarily using the Mission Council as an intermediary.

2. In handing over control we should not differentiate between evangelistic, educational, and medical work, with the hope that the Chinese Church would realise the importance of all three departments as integral and necessary parts of the Church's programme, and conserve all the results already won by the efforts of the mission.

3. We should recognise that money given by church members in New Zealand in support of the work had been given for the Chinese, and therefore there must be nothing like bargain driving in the transfer. In other words, the money invested in mission work is no longer an asset of the home Church, but a gift to the Church in China. We were aware that such an attitude might be tested by the process of Chinese selection or rejection. Not all the work begun by missions can be continued by the Chinese Church. Missions have no right to expect it. The Chinese will judge values by other standards. Too many missions have initiated costly enterprises in the years when abundant financial support was forthcoming from abroad, without any thought of the day coming when such supplies would be cut off and mission stock be in the hands of Chinese appraisers.

4. Methods of transfer should be elastic enough to meet varying conditions. Considerations of efficiency, safety, economy, sentiment, location, etc., must not be ignored. For example, there may be localities where it would be a distinct advantage to have a Chinese doctor as medical superintendent of a hospital. But at Kong Chuen we have proved that the people in that region have a great deal more confidence in a foreign doctor, probably because Dr John Kirk opened up the work and was there so long. Both hospitals and schools can be run more economically when there are a number of missionary doctors, nurses, and teachers employed, because payment of Chinese staff has to come out of fees charged. People at home are more likely to support by prayer and effort the institutions in which their missionaries are working.

5. No un-Christian temper or lack of sincerity in giving or taking should be allowed to leave a heritage of bitterness which might endanger the future of the work. A campaign of information should be undertaken on both sides, so that the members of the

Chinese Church on the one hand and the members of the Church in New Zealand on the other might understand the reasons for what was taking place, and so be sympathetic towards the new policy.

6. There should be no hasty transfer of the ownership of property while the Government in China was prejudiced against Christian institutions, and while it was divided and unstable.

### ENCOURAGING RESPONSE.

The tentative period of five years has passed, and the agreement is being continued for another ten years. This action is also being taken by the other missions co-operating with the Synod. The only change in our own case is that the Synod has asked the Mission Council to take back a certain amount of responsibility for the carrying on of the hospital. The Synod, instead of itself appointing a Board of Directors as formerly, has assisted the mission to form a new board. The Synod felt it had enough on its hands without the hospital, the success of which so largely depends on the maintenance of a strong foreign staff. The difficulties of the five-year period were mainly due to the failure of the mission to maintain continuity in the position of medical superintendent. Our contribution to the Union Theological College, which was formerly made through the Mission Council, is now made through the Synod.

It was felt by some at the time that the somewhat hasty handing over of control to the Chinese Church under pressure of a critical political situation might perhaps be premature. We are glad to affirm our unanimous opinion that it has worked out for the furtherance of the gospel. As a matter of fact the Church was so cautious in respecting mission traditions that no serious changes were made. The mission had its representatives in the secretariat and Executive Council of the Synod, as well as on the executive of the local Presbytery. Synod officials have given freely of their time and thought to the

work, formerly cared for by the mission. The accommodation available on the compound at Kong Chuen, with the Key Institute for meetings, and the quiet atmosphere have again and again brought gatherings there arranged by the Synod for retreat and conference. Its nearness to the city makes it the most convenient country station for such.

If the Synod has only continued former mission policy it may be asked what advantage has been gained. Much every way. However closely the policy may approximate to the traditional—and in a tentative period it would have been unwise to introduce radical changes—it is now the policy of the Chinese Church. The Chinese staffs in evangelistic, educational, and medical work receive their salaries through the Synod and Presbytery treasurers instead of from the missionaries. That is a very welcome and salutary change. The central machinery is controlled by the Church, as that if for political or other reasons missionaries might be temporarily withdrawn, the work should still go on, although, of course, crippled by the absence of foreign workers. And as a Chinese institution it is not subject to the same virulent attack through anti-foreign propaganda. Then it brings a sense of proprietorship and responsibility to church members which one could not expect when missionaries held the reins, and through its widely separated Synods and the central machinery of its General Assembly it joins them all in a nation-wide fellowship of faith and service. The delightful Christian camaraderie which we enjoy under the new emphasis is also a great asset. The Chinese Church welcomes this type of international co-operation because it does not hurt its self-respect, and only hopes that in some form it may continue indefinitely. Not that churches abroad should continue the same measure of support in personnel and finance, but chosen men and women should always be available to share with the Church in China the rich spiritual experience of Christians in other lands.

## WELCOME REFORMS.

A number of new developments deserve mention. For years the various missions as well as the Synod have been dissatisfied with the method by which country chapels have been subsidised through funds from abroad. Their grants were continued year after year without any appreciable progress toward independence. This gave to many of the Chinese workers a security of tenure which made them happier to rely on foreign help than to stir up church members in the grace of giving. Those under foreign supervision were tempted to seek first the goodwill of the missionary "boss." The Mission Board of the American Presbyterian Church decided to discontinue this system, and proposed that a careful survey be made to decide the most necessary objects, after which funds should only be allocated to definite projects, continuance of support to be reviewed annually. This proposal has been adopted by the Synod, and the various Presbyteries have to list their requirements under such projects. The change gives an opportunity for careful inquiry into each separate unit of work, the preparation of a well-thought-out plan, and an annual review. The decrease of subsidies owing to the financial depression in the sending countries will thus be wisely distributed.

The old system whereby practically every chapel had its own resident paid preacher has been abandoned. The time when the Chinese Church could finance it is still in the far future, and the supply of funds from abroad is being cut off. It has never been very satisfactory. During the past ten years great changes have taken place through the development of new means of communication. Motor roads are rapidly connecting all the more important centres. Most of the market towns where chapels are situated in the Seventh Presbytery can now be reached by bus or bicycle. This makes it easier for both the Chinese and the foreign staff to get around, and thus

each individual worker can take care of a wider field. Rapid transit will make bigger parishes possible in rural areas, and thus may hasten the day when such charges will be able to support their own ministers. Formerly travel was by boat or on foot, and in either case there were few direct roads. Where services had to be held about mid-day, owing to the distance some members had to come, it was impossible for the preacher to conduct more than one meeting in the day. Country Chinese do not move around at night.

There is a new emphasis on team work, both for the sake of the workers and the greater effectiveness of the work. Less experienced evangelists learn a lot from membership in a team under expert leadership. A group of workers—missionary with Chinese, sometimes men and sometimes women—make their headquarters at a chapel for a week or two, and systematically visit the homes of Christians, where they conduct cottage meetings. They also conduct evangelistic meetings at the chapel and wherever possible. The group meets daily for prayer and Bible study and mutual sharing of experience. Constant attention is being given to the training of lay workers so that personal witness may be borne, Sunday Schools may be staffed, family worship may be encouraged, and regular services conducted where no paid workers are available. The Synod office is behind all these developments with appropriate literature, training classes, and the advice and co-operation of the secretaries.

## CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS AND GOVERNMENT CO-OPERATION.

Mention was made in the earlier part of the lecture of the disabilities from which Christian schools suffered owing to the antagonism of the anti-Christian Movement and the unfriendly attitude of the Government. Registration of all institutions was insisted on. This required that the principal should

be a Chinese, that there should be a majority of Chinese on the controlling body, the fulfilling of Government requirements in staff, curriculum, buildings, equipment, and the cessation of all religious exercises and teaching in the school. There was an exception in senior high schools and colleges, where religious courses could be given if desired by a sufficient number of the students. Many Christian schools had to be closed because they were below standard, and more because they refused to accept these regulations. Most of the larger institutions in South China sought registration, and they have been much encouraged by the result. The Government authorities have been sympathetic, and have not been overstrict in their interpretation of requirements. They have allowed institutions to set apart one of their buildings as a religious centre. This was not included in property registered, although it might be in the same group with classrooms and dormitories. In this centre Christian teaching could be given to all the pupils the Christian members of staff and the religious work secretary could attract into it. There is a growing feeling among Christian educationalists that the results are better than when attendance at religious exercises and the acceptance of religious teaching were required from every pupil. For the past few years all Christian schools have been filled to capacity. The danger is that their popularity should draw so many pupils from well-to-do non-Christian families that the Christian tone is lowered or lost, and the poorer children from Christian homes are left uneducated. The Tak Kei Girls' School at Kong Chuen is one of the best examples of how such dangers may be avoided.

### “WHOSOEVER WILL.”

There is an unprecedented opportunity in China to-day for evangelistic work. Dr Stanley Jones, after spending some months in its main centres, gave

it as his considered opinion that there was no field so ripe for the labour of Christ's harvesters. Along with the wide opportunity there is the danger that it should be too lightly taken advantage of. Much of what passes for evangelism is pitifully shallow and lacking in permanent result. I know a city where a preaching band secured the names of 190 people who desired to be Christians. But a year later not one of these had joined the church. That kind of passing emotionalism is bad. Fortunately, there is coming with this receptive day a new emphasis on educational methods in Christian teaching. Where the visiting evangelist and the local church leaders are "apt to teach" there may soon be large accessions to church membership. The fact that so many prominent men and women in China's national life are Christians, and the granting of religious liberty under the constitution of the Republic, along with a widespread revolt against superstitions, have removed prejudice from many minds. The great modern enemy of Christianity in China is secularism.

The Five Year Movement, which set out in the beginning of 1929 to double the Church membership throughout the land in five years, has had far-reaching results, even although that objective has not been attained. It has turned the attention of the Church to its present membership, and there has been a salutary purging of rolls. It has emphasised the responsibility of the rank and file as well as of the leaders. The Christian home has been given a more central place in the Church's programme. The Church in China is in a much stronger position than it was five years ago. The motto prayer of the movement. "Lord, revive Thy Church, beginning from me," was an inspiration.



## WINNING THE FARMER.

The Church in China is earnestly interested in the many problems connected with the rural life of its nation. A unique experiment is going on in the part of the Kiangsi Province which has been recovered by the Government troops from Communist control. A programme of all-round rural reconstruction has been introduced, for the carrying out of which the Government has enlisted the co-operation of the Church. The Rev. George Shepherd, of Dunedin, is one of the workers set apart to this special and difficult task.

At Yan Woh Mart, where the Rev. H. Davies was at one time resident, the Synod has taken over the mission premises and is using them as a rural service centre. Well-trained workers—one a graduate from the Ling-nan Agricultural School and another a pastor of long experience in both town and country—are in charge of the station. The medical staff at Kong Chuen Hospital is co-operating. The Government educational authorities have expressed their approval, and local friendship is gradually being won. A school has been opened for boys, where it is purposed to give a course of training which will fit them for service in their own country district. It is hoped that the experiment going on here will be a model for similar attempts elsewhere.

## THE CHALLENGE OF AN OPEN DOOR.

Let us close this lecture and the series with a brief reference to some of the encouraging features of mission work in China to-day. Throughout my residence in China I have never worked in a more friendly atmosphere than during the past five years. The anti-British feeling, so prevalent formerly, has almost disappeared. I attribute this welcome change to the sympathetic attitude of the British Government

to China's national aspirations. The Boxer indemnity has been remitted and is being used for educational and constructive development. While the old treaties still remain in force, Britain has signified her willingness to accept substantial modifications of her former privileges and give every possible aid in supporting China's independence. Already she has been allowed complete control of her Maritime Customs. Although China was disappointed that the League of Nations could not follow up its judgment regarding Manchuria in any practical way, her statesmen appreciated the sympathy and justice of the Lytton Report. They still feel, and I hope rightly, that they have the goodwill of the British people in their present difficulties with Japan.

China has reached the stage of very outspoken and humbling self-criticism. Her leaders realise that the chief reason for failure to attain unity, independence, and progress has been within herself. They no longer blame foreign nations for all her ills. The New-Life and kindred movements are trying to bring home to the populace the seriousness and culpability of their own shortcomings.

At such a time, in a friendly atmosphere and among a humbled people, with a growing sense of ethical and spiritual need, there is an unlimited opportunity for witness to the Living Saviour. Only Christianity after the apostolic type can provide the dynamic that China knows she needs. Jesus came that they might have life and have it abundantly. The danger in this day of grace for which the Church has long prayed and toiled is that we in these more privileged lands may lose the wonder and glow of that abundant life, and so have neither the will nor the power to commend the Saviour with compelling love to our Chinese neighbours.

## QUESTIONS FOR STUDY.

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### LECTURE I.

1. In what ways has the Foreign Mission work of our Church delivered its members from insularity of outlook?

2. Describe how our work in China developed out of that carried on amongst Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. (See "The Story of the Canton Villages Mission.")

3. Why should New Zealanders be interested in the welfare of the Chinese people? (See "New Zealand and China.")

4. What is your estimate of Chinese character, and on what is your opinion based?

5. Discuss the argument for attention to detail in the Chinese mind.

### LECTURE II.

1. Of what advantage to the missionary is a study of China's past and present religious beliefs?

2. State the chief impression made on your mind by the study of this lecture.

3. What is helpful and what detrimental to character and social usefulness in ancestor worship as practised by the Chinese?

4. Note the common and the distinctive elements in Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism?

5. How would you answer a person who said, "The Chinese have their own religion and do not need Christian missionaries"?

### LECTURE III.

1. Show how the Church had attempted work in China before the Reformation.

2. Discuss the success and failure of early Roman Catholic mission work in China.

3. How did the methods of Roman Catholic missionaries make difficulties for the first Protestant workers? (See also Lecture IV.)

4. In the light of Morrison's experience (Lecture IV) can we still say that Roman Catholic missionaries prepared the way for Protestant work, and how?

### LECTURE IV.

1. Trace the process in the preparation of Robert Morrison for his difficult task.

2. What advantages have missionaries going to China now as compared with Morrison?

3. In what respects are all subsequent missionaries indebted to Morrison?

4. Indicate the qualities that most impress you in Morrison, and say why.

## LECTURE V.

1. Show how the Chinese Church has developed during this century.

2. Explain the reasons for handing over control of our mission work to the Synod of the Church of Christ in China. (See also "New Zealand and China.")

3. What good results have followed this action?

4. Why is the Chinese Church asking for more missionaries from New Zealand?

5. How can each of us help most to hasten the extension of Christ's Kingdom in China?

(Note.—Much useful explanatory material on Lecture V can be found in the annual reports of the mission published in the Blue Books.)



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